

Ruanda, los Zapatistas y Revolución Social

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In This Issue:

- ★ The Pro-Choice Movement and Feminist Revolution
- ★ The New Mexican Revolution in Chiapas
- ★ COINTELPRO and Qubilah Shabazz and a lot more!



OUR CHOICE IS REVOLUTION!

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Pro-Choice Revolution or Reform?

BY CAROLYN

On Dec. 30, 1994 John Salvi, an anti-choice hitman, walked into the Planned Parenthood Clinic in Brookline, Mass., shot and killed Sharon Lowney, the receptionist, and wounded three others. Salvi then walked down the block to the Pre-term Clinic and opened fire again, killing Leanne Nichols and wounding two other clinic staff members. These murders are the third such attack in the last year and a half. In Mar. 1993, Michael Griffin shot and killed Dr. David Gunn. Griffin was a member of Rescue America, an anti-choice group founded by former Ku Klux Klan member John Burt. On July 29, 1994, the Reverend Paul Hill assassinated Dr. John Bayard Britton and his clinic escort James Barrett, wounding escort June Barrett.

News reports have been quick to fixate on the establishment churches' criticisms of

the Brookline killings, arguing that the insanity surrounding abortions leads to such desperate actions. In other words, "women's reproductive freedom is unacceptable, this is what you're going to get if abortion remains legal." Yet, while there are no direct ties between the Catholic hierarchies, Operation Rescue's troops, and John Salvi, he is not a lone gunman, nor are his actions beyond the pale of the religious right's tactics.

From 1984 to 1993, the National Abortion Federation has recorded 1,540 incidents of violence at clinics; almost 200 clinics have been bombed, 254 have received bomb threats, 276 were invaded, and 279 vandalized. This rise in violence since the mid-1980s marks the religious right's awareness that its legal efforts to overturn *Roe v. Wade* have failed. The religious right has now moved to overturning *Roe* through the use of violence. In order

to resist the right's use of hitmen and physical force, we need to break from the politics of liberal feminism and accept only a feminism that is fundamentally about liberation, not protection. We must begin by reinvigorating feminism with a refusal to negotiate women's reproductive and sexual freedoms. Women's right to abortion on demand must be part of a strategy to transform society through a militant mass movement that is directly democratic and empowers all women, a movement that can independently guarantee women's reproductive freedom.

ABORTION REFORM AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Women won the legal right to abortion in 1973 because there was a mass movement forcing the government to change or risk being destroyed by the social movements of the 1960s. The women's movement related abortion reform to a revolutionary vision, shaped by their participation in the struggle for Black liberation, inspired by the resistance of women like Assata Shakur, who withstood police torture for being a leading figure in the Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army. Sisterhood was an international solidarity, binding the 100,000 women in Thieu prison in Vietnam fighting American imperialism to women's demand for absolute control of their bodies.

The victory of *Roe* had clear limitations from the outset—it did not grant abortion on demand nor do women now have permanent control of their bodies beyond the state. Simply, it asserted that the state would not regulate women's right to privacy. *Roe* benefited the state, undercutting more radical demands for free health care, pre-natal services, and control of the burgeoning abortion business, and cementing a dependency between liberal feminist orga-

nizations, the court system, and the illusory left wing of the Democratic Party. The result was women becoming one more interest group whose rights are settled in the court of public opinion.

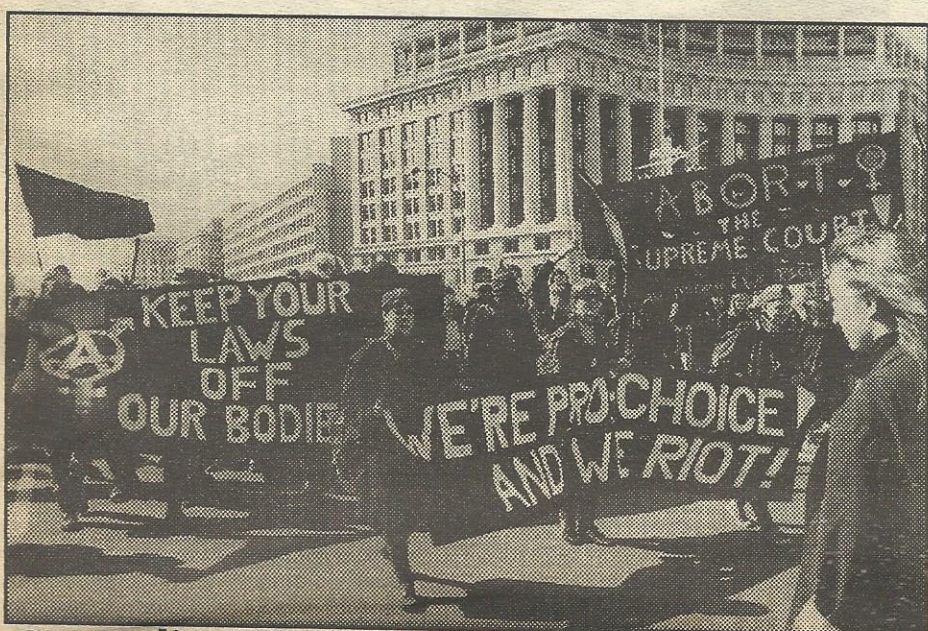
THE RIGHT COUNTER-ATTACKS

Since 1973, the right has mounted a legislative assault on abortion rights. The Hyde Amendment cut off federal Medicaid funding for abortion in 1977. Further, the marked decrease in the number of obstetrics-gynecological residency programs offering training in abortion procedures, and public hospitals unwilling to provide the service due to political expediency, illustrates that *Roe*, like much of the civil rights legislation of the 1960s, set up symbolic rights, neglecting the entrenched social and economic inequalities that made *Roe* a hollow victory for many women.

During the Reagan-Bush years, the women's movement was faced with continued attacks on clinics, an unsympathetic White House, and a disinterested House and Senate dominated by Democrats. Without a mass movement, the Democrats could afford to pay lip service to women's rights while not following through. The right was then convinced it had successfully set the national tone to legally dismantle *Roe*. The new Bush nominees to the Supreme Court, however, didn't overturn *Roe*, although they severely restricted it. The 1992 Casey decision, and *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* in 1993, required parental notification and gave the states leeway to require waiting periods; barriers that overwhelmingly affect poor, rural, Black and Latina women.

Seeing the new Republican-dominated House and Senate willingness to put their

(Continued on page 3)



Cascading Currencies and National Liberation—the Situation in México

BY MATT MISCREANT

[Update as of Feb. 20: This article was written before Feb. 9, when México's president, Ernesto Zedillo, announced a new offensive against the Zapatistas. The Mexican government now claims to have identified several Zapatista leaders, including Subcommander Marcos, and to have arrested Zapatistas in Mexico City and Veracruz who were preparing to spread the struggle beyond Chiapas. The EZLN responds in their Feb. 9 communiqué [page 3]. In the recent offensive, the Mexican Federal Army took Zapatista towns on the edge of the Lacandona Jungle, causing the Zapatistas to retreat into the jungle, along with the majority of the non-combatant population. Reports of torture, murder, and rape from areas where the civilian population could not retreat are gruesome indeed. The army has also indiscriminately bombed civilian

areas in this new offensive, just like in Jan. 1994. Demonstrations have shaken Mexico City this past week, showing the Mexican government the unpopularity of their brutal offensive and forcing them to call a brief halt to it after one week. Demonstrations have also taken place throughout North America and Europe in support of the EZLN. The Mexican Federal Army soon renewed hostilities against the Zapatistas.]

The situation in México is precarious as we go to press. The devaluation of the peso has caused the cost of everything to rise, with no corresponding wage increase anywhere in sight. Meanwhile, the Zapatista National Liberation Army [EZLN] had met with representatives of the Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI] government in the EZLN-controlled Lacandona Jungle

about restarting a dialogue for peace. Not long before these talks began, the EZLN issued a "Third Declaration of the Lacandona Jungle," [see pages 18-19] calling for a National Liberation Movement led by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas to fight the PRI state by any means necessary. The choice of Cárdenas to lead this movement raises important questions about the EZLN, their politics, and the future of the revolution they have begun in México. In the US the National Commission for Democracy in México, USA [NCDM] was having some success in bringing local Zapatista solidarity groups of various political orientations together into a national organization.

THE PLUMMETING PESO

As Carlos Salinas de Gortari's term ended as President of México, it became apparent that the peso, México's currency, was overvalued. Devaluations of the peso have occurred at the end of each Mexican president's six-year term for the past few presidencies, each time plunging the country into economic crises of varying degrees. A devaluation toward the end of Salinas's term would have hurt the PRI's chances in the August elections and Salinas's candidacy to become head of the new World Trade

Organization. As México's currency reserves dwindled too low to support México's debt a devaluation could not be put off any longer.

With the devaluation of the peso, the price of imported goods in México skyrocketed, causing a chain reaction that caused the price of everything to rise. Despite an order by the Mexican government that stores not raise prices for 60 days, all necessities immediately became more expensive. Many families suddenly found themselves unable to purchase even milk or eggs, much less meat. Despite the devaluation, an unusually recalcitrant Mexican Labor Confederation [CTM, the PRI-controlled union that represents non-agricultural Mexican workers in the state structure] agreed to limit wages to the previously agreed 7% raise for this year. Meanwhile, inflation spiraled far beyond 7%. Although Clinton's \$50+ billion bailout of México will stabilize inflation, prices are being stabilized much higher than they were in mid-December.

Lamely, the PRI government tried to blame the crisis on the Zapatista offensive that began on Dec. 19 (the first devaluation took place on Dec. 20). However, the PRI was not convincing,

(Continued on page 17)

COINTELPRO and Qubilah Shabazz

BY REBECCA HILL AND NIKOLAS KAUTZ

The New York Three. The New York Twenty-One. The Chicago Seven/Eight. COINTELPRO, the government's campaign to thwart potentially revolutionary social movements with tactics both "legal" and illegal, has long been associated with larger US cities. Even the recent case of the Minnesota Eight, in which eight African-American men—uniformly described in the mainstream press as Vice Lords—got snatched up after the shooting of a white police officer, barely put these cities of less than 2 million on the political-repression map. Then came Qubilah Shabazz. Observers around the world, and many people here, are scratching their heads about how the dubious indictment of Malcolm X's second daughter happened to go down in this overgrown cow town.

But don't let "Minnesota Nice" fool you. As the life-long shenanigans of infiltrator Michael Fitzpatrick became known, casting doubt on the government's contention that

Qubilah Shabazz hired Fitzpatrick to kill Minister Louis Farrakhan, the Justice Department in Washington, DC tried to play the "local yokel" card. For about a day, the national press quoted unnamed government lawyers vaguely insinuating that Minnesota's US attorney, a fresh-scrubbed fellow with the excellent name Lillehaug, was a naive Midwestern clodhopper, hoodwinked by a con-man informer. Then Attorney General Janet Reno stepped in dispel all the nonsense and stamp her approval on the frame-up. Reno knows. The COINTELPRO credentials of the authorities here are perfectly in order.

THE WAR ON AIM

The FBI office here is named for the two agents killed on the Pine Ridge Lakota Sioux reservation in 1975; Leonard Peltier was framed for their shootings and still sits in

(Continued on page 4)



Some 200,000 people demonstrated their support for the Zapatistas in Mexico City on Feb. 18.

Love and Rage is the English-language newspaper of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, an organization made up of groups and individuals in Canada, Mexico and the US who share a set of common politics and who work on common political projects. *Love and Rage* is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production Group is made up of volunteers and one full-time staff person. *Love and Rage* is one of the many projects of the Federation, which also produces the Spanish-language *Amor y Rabia* in Mexico City, and publishes an internal discussion bulletin in New York City, in addition to supporting various actions and campaigns.

Major decisions and overall policies of the Federation are set by an annual conference, or between conferences by the Federation Council.

Ongoing debates and discussions within the Federation as well as timely information can be found in the monthly *Federation Bulletin*, produced in NYC.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join the Federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. Any individual who is in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation, who supports the projects of the Federation, and who pays the \$25 communications fee to cover the costs of receiving the Federation publications, may be a member of the Federation. The communications fee will be waived on request. Even if you do not wish to be a member of the Federation you may participate in Federation projects. Please contact us.

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Boring Disclaimer

Yo, the stuff we print does not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation. We print lots of things for lots of reasons. Sometimes we print articles we don't agree with, because we believe that they are interesting or provocative. Got it?

Editorial Policy

We encourage you to submit material for publication. Shorter articles are more likely to be printed. 1750 words, a full newspaper page, is a long article. Submissions may be edited. Please include a phone number and address or internet email address so the PG can consult you on editing. Articles not printed may be sent to our internal bulletin unless otherwise noted. All letters will be considered for publication unless there is a request that they not be published. Letters will not be edited.

About Our Politics

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is in the process of developing a statement of our common politics. A set of Working Papers encompassing the debate on the content of this statement is available for \$5 from the Federation Office. The following introduction to our old Political Statement gives an idea of where we are coming from:

Love and Rage is a bi-monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America and build a more effective and better-organized anarchist movement. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions, and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed peoples around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

Introduction

Welcome to the longest-ever issue of *Love and Rage*, produced by one of the smallest-ever Production Groups. We want to thank all the members of the Federation who came through and wrote articles for this issue of the newspaper. The amount of stuff in this issue written by Federation members reflects the increased activity of the Federation and the commitment of its membership.

Starting this issue we will be running editorials. These editorials are meant to give the Love and Rage Federation's position on certain topics and to spark debate. This issue's

editorial, "What Kind of Revolutionary Organization Is Useful Today?" is featured below and was written by the Coordinating Committee of Love and Rage. The CC will solicit editorials from Federation members on different topics for future issues of the paper.

Two running themes through this issue are events in Mexico and Anti-Fascism. We have lots of recent EZLN communications (see pages 3, 18, 19, 21, and 24), a broad analytical piece on the situation in Mexico (page 1), two critiques of the National Democratic Convention (CND) (pages 20-21), an article on the drama in the Mexico City anarchist 'scene' which unfolded around an attack on a McDonalds and reviews of a CD dedicated to the Zapatistas and a book, *Rebellion from the*

Roots, about the Zapatistas.

Our lead story on Anti-Fascism shows the way forward in the pro-choice struggle. Love and Rage has called for an anarchist contingent at the April 9 demonstration for reproductive freedom in Washington, DC. Different aspects of the international right-wing offensive are chronicled in this article as well as in articles about anti-fascists on trial in Germany and the US (pages 7 and 10), the stabbing of a member of Toronto Anti-Racist Action (page 9), and *The Bell Curve*, a book intended to familiarize the public with the language of fascism (page 8). We also have updates on the activities of Toronto and Minneapolis ARA's.

¡Viva Zapata!

The Production Group

What Kind of Revolutionary Organization Is Useful Today?

The multiple problems facing the world today require a revolutionary response. The troubles faced by the oppressed—especially people of color—exist not because the promise of liberal democracy is yet unfulfilled throughout the globe, but because of inherent contradictions within liberalism and capitalism itself. Because capitalism requires the many to work for the profits of the few, modern society cannot provide full freedom for all. Further, because capital will not surrender its privileged position without a fight, the struggle for a truly free society requires a revolutionary struggle against capitalism and all forms of oppression.

Given this, the revolutionary question is: What kind of revolutionary organization is effective at this time? Historically, there have been two answers to this question. The most common is the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. The vanguard strategy, from the Russian Revolution to the present, is to build an organization of an elite cadre of militants who will guide the masses through a revolution and lead them to a socialist society. This strategy has proven to be an utter failure because it has failed to fulfill the promise of freedom. By creating a highly centralized and undemocratic organization, vanguard approaches have reproduced these same power structures in society, with the party as the new ruling class.

The second strategy is less well-known but is currently popular in many North American anarchist circles. This strategy, which could be called the storefront approach to social change, advocates creating "temporary autonomous zones" (TAZ) of collectives, infoshops, community centers, and other countercultural outposts throughout the land. These storefronts, the argument goes, will inspire thousands of other TAZ's to organically sprout up in the rest of society, transforming the world without a center of power or a hierarchical chain of command. This strategy is admirable for its critique of authoritarianism and for its commitment to decentralized forms of organization. However, it is unrealistic because it does not present a plan to directly challenge and defeat the fundamental structures of state power. Nor



does it suggest a way to democratically bring these multiple TAZ's and storefronts together to collectively craft a vision of a free society.

The ineffectiveness of these two strategies requires a different response. This third view, which could be called revolutionary pluralism, is the position Love and Rage has arrived at after six years of debate and struggle. It is based on our perception of what a 21st-century mass movement against oppression will look like. While movements aimed at organizing factory workers may have been appropriate in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the ever-changing landscape of capital and imperialism has grown much more complex today. The mass movements against them will inevitably reflect this diversity and complexity. The struggles of women, people of color, and oppressed nationalities throughout the world are no longer secondary to the struggle of "the proletariat" (in reality, were they ever?), but constitute the potential, in their plurality, to be the foundations for a new mass movement. What will bring these diverse struggles and peoples together? Only a deliberate effort to unite them into a radi-

cally democratic and plural movement that will maintain their autonomy and challenge the existing power structure. This is revolutionary pluralism.

If the mass movements of the 21st century are going to be plural, diverse, and emanate from a variety of locations, what is the role of a revolutionary organization? Clearly, such an organization should not attempt to make itself the "vanguard" and force the entire movement to conform to its ideology and be subordinate to its own organs of power. However, this does not mean there is no role at all for revolutionary organization, as advocates of the storefront strategy claim. The role of a revolutionary organization like Love and Rage in a mass movement is not to lead the movement but to participate in it as equals with other organizations and people. Through such participation we seek to do two things: 1) to argue for the most democratic mass movement possible, one that gives every person the ability to participate in it fully; and 2) to argue for our anti-authoritarian politics within this plural movement in order to influence it into struggling against all forms of oppression.

Of course, a plural and diverse mass movement does not exist in North America. At present, groups like Love and Rage are organizations without a movement. We do not pretend to be able to be this movement nor to be able to create it ourselves. That is the work of millions of the downtrodden and oppressed. However, we can and do participate in small movements right now, with the eye toward not only winning these smaller struggles but also toward bringing them together into a larger movement. We do this through active participation and by arguing for our politics in a free and open manner.

With this in mind, Love and Rage sees three current struggles that are not yet mass movements but that hold great potential. The struggle against white supremacy—not only against the far right but also against the principal institutions of this society (cops, courts, capital)—will be key to any revolutionary movement. Secondly, the Zapatista uprising indicates that Mexico will be a central point of resistance to the global order in the upcoming century, and so we work to support our comrades in Mexico and to open up a "northern front" in the US and Canada. And finally, we focus attention on prisons and the criminal justice system, not only to support our imprisoned revolutionary comrades but also to reveal prisons as the lynchpin of social control under capitalism and as a key weapon of Black genocide. Coupled with revolutionary pluralism, these three struggles offer a guide to building a new world within the complex and confusing shell of the terrible one we live in now.★



Pro-Choice Revolt Our Choice Is Revolution!

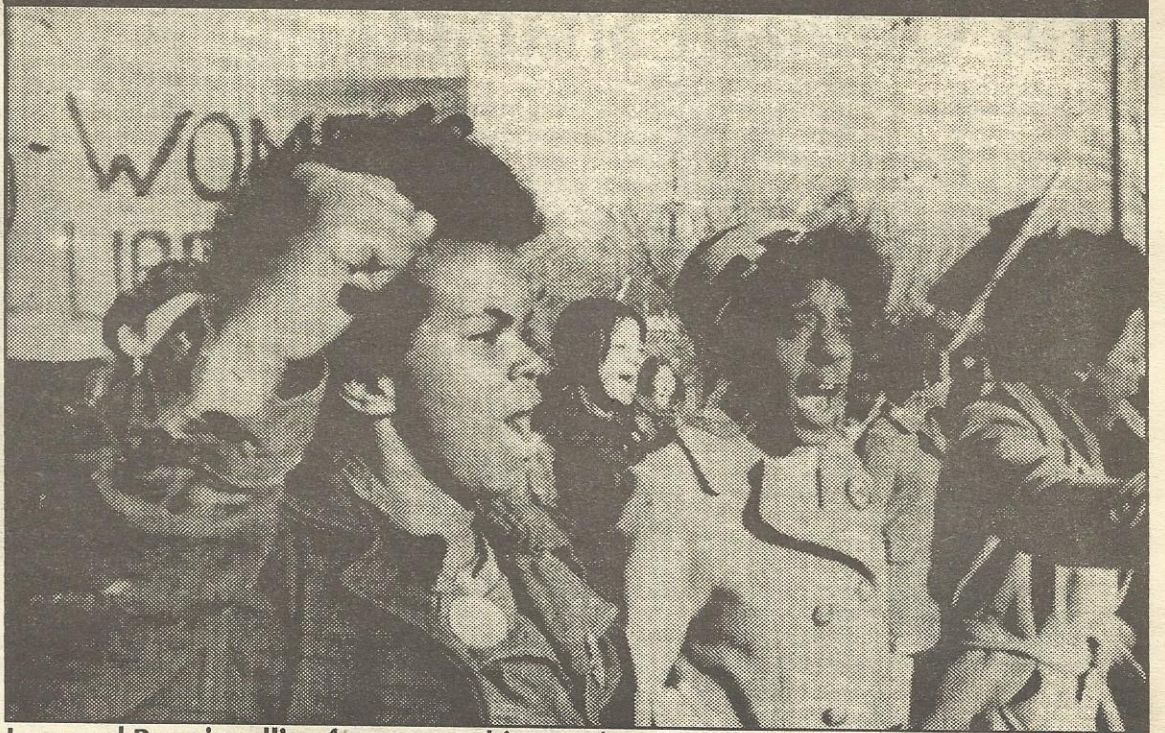
(Continued from page 1)

anti-choice, anti-queer rhetoric temporarily to the side, at least until the 1996 presidential elections, the religious right has faced its legal efforts' limitations, and has moved toward a strategy of violence and intimidation. The religious right has a powerful mass movement committed to using violence, with ties to neo-nazis, the Klan, and the growing citizen militias. The pro-choice response has been to assume the right is willing to negotiate women's reproductive rights because it needs to maintain its place in the Republican fold the same way they need the Democrats.

THE PRO-CHOICE RESPONSE

The liberal pro-choice movement has failed; it's just too wedded to the system to admit it. In response to the rise of anti-choice forces in the mid 1980s many feminists formed local direct action clinic defense groups. These groups, often coalitions of different political tendencies, had a more flexible approach to the new terrain of the struggle. These groups tend to choose tactics which fit the situation, meaning if the police were relatively benign they would use this to their advantage, if they were not the clinic defenders challenged anti-choice forces and the police with the same resistance. The National Organization for Women's [NOW] standpoint has always been to lobby the state regardless of its response, and attempt to integrate other

feminist movements' efforts into their own. This was done not so much out of opportunism, as the logic of its liberalism. NOW believes its establishment ties put them on the front line of feminism's possible success, therefore they should determine the movement's direction. The end result has been the half-hearted use of clinic defenders, chanting leftist slogans from behind police barricades while the police fail to provide even the minimal protections offered by the law. The liberal feminists' new legislative weapon—*National Organization for Women et. al v. Joseph Scheidler et. al.*, better known as the RICO case—creates dangerous legal precedents for revolutionaries (*Love and Rage* vol. 5, # 3). While this may seem like a display of anarchist revolutionary elitism, RICO limits all activists' ability to determine what tactics are necessary to ensure their



Love and Rage is calling for an anarchist contingent at the April 9 "Putting It on the Line to Stop the Violence Against Women" demonstration in Washington, DC. Call (718) 834-9077 for more information.

Feb. 2 Letter by Subcommander Marcos

To: Esteban Moctezuma Barragán
Secretary of the Interior
From: Insurgent Subcommander Marcos
Zapatista National Liberation Army
Sir:

A few hours ago I received the communiqué from the Secretary of the Interior reasserting your willingness to dialogue. In that communiqué, there is an absurd reference to an absurd declaration by the usurper Robledo Rincón. I do not know if the Secretary of the Interior is now spokesman for the misgovernment of the state of Chiapas, but that is not the point. Only that it increases our distrust of your true intentions in looking for a dialogue. From other sources I have been informed of the ultimatum that you allow yourself to direct to the EZLN about the supposedly "strongly armed" Zapatista military posts in the municipality of San Andres Samach. "If you don't remove them, they will be displaced by the army," your threat states. I also appreciate the campaign in the media about the alleged advance of our troops in the region of Los Altos. You know very well that the "strongly-armed" posts and the "Zapatista troop advancement" in Los Altos is a lie. The only thing that existed was a civilian post to avoid the introduction of weapons, alcohol, and drug trafficking. That was the decision of the civil authorities and not of the EZLN. The same media give accounts of the people who were in the posts and who DID NOT CARRY WEAPONS. Otherwise, in one of the

civilian posts 5 kilos of marijuana were confiscated that was being sent to the federal troops in the military post of Cathe.

It is particularly interesting that your ultimatum does not mention any of the violations of the federal troops in the border with Guatemala which go against the 15th of Jan., 1995, agreement, signed by you and this writer. Violations which have been communicated to you promptly. "That's small stuff," you may say, but they contribute to the deteriorating climate of stretching sides.

If they are advising you to increase the military pressure to force a new confrontation, they are tricking you. The Zapatistas respond to military pressure in kind, we are not intimidated by threats and you can throw all the soldiers you wish to at us. This way there will not be a solution to the conflict. Be assured that the conflict will be expanded throughout the country. We respond to getting sides together when there is a will for a political solution. That is how the first meeting happened. If you use military pressure thinking that we are going to dialogue, you are mistaken, and the advisors you have will only lead you to failure.

Remember that, in the meeting of Jan. 15, 1995, you told me that many thought we were only gaining time with the dialogue. I answered back that we thought that you were gaining time to prepare a military solution. Maybe the latter is the truth. Maybe in the secret conditions

freedom. RICO empowers the government to prosecute any organization (in this case Operation Rescue) engaged in a pattern of "racketeering," broadly including acts or the conspiracy to commit such acts, such as interference with commerce, arson, obstruction of justice. Prosecution under RICO does not have to take place in a public court,

agreed to by Mr. Zedillo for the US loan is the condition to annihilate us. If this is the case, then you may proceed whenever you like; we will fight to the last soldier. We were sincere when we sat down to talk with you, we believe that you had the predisposition we have: to resolve the conflict without loss of human life and destruction. Maybe we were mistaken, and you were only looking for the precise time for the military attack. I profoundly deplore that it may be this way. The opportunity for peace existed, and was only taken advantage of to prepare for war. History will know how to settle accounts.

We will not sit down if the military pressure continues. We have our word: There is not one military post in the Zapatista positions which are a result of the actions of Dec., 1994. You can continue making up lies and continue supporting the usurper Robledo with your bayonets. Either way, he will fall, and along with him, all the ones who insist in supporting him against all political and human logic.

If this is all a pretext for a military action, I deplore that Mr. Zedillo's regime had decided to dirty his hands with Indigenous blood, and that you be an accomplice to this barbarism.

That is all.
From the Mountains of the Mexican Southeast

Insurgent Subcommander Marcos
México, February, 1995★

and grants the state unlimited power to seize documents and force testimony. NOW argues that RICO will be used to protect abortion clinics and women, limiting Operation Rescue's efforts to shut clinics down, without affecting other political struggles. Just imagine RICO in the hands of Alabama's state legislature during the Montgomery bus boycott. NOW's myopic view of women's rights leads directly to such counter-productive victories. Moreover, legal efforts have failed.

Note that Brookline had "model" anti-blockade laws. Doctors wearing bullet-proof vests with armed bodyguards are still murdered. Faced with their own political failure, the liberals can only re-double their lobbying efforts, hoping that a split will develop within the right. As Susan Yanow of the Massachusetts Abortion Access Project was quoted as saying, "the shootings have divided the abortion movement. They are fighting with each other over tactics." Caught in this quicksand of lesser-evilism, liberal feminists hope the checks-and-balances charade of American democracy will rein in the extremists. This strategy represents a death of vision that cannot adequately ensure women's reproductive freedom. The anti-choice movement has moved its agenda beyond a legislative strategy to destroying the women's movement with violence. We need to take direct action against this movement to stop them. Roe was a tremendous victory, we now have to expand on it. We need to defend Roe and the clinics using whatever means necessary. We have to move women's reproductive freedom outside the parameters of the state's authority, linking abortion rights to Major Ana Maria of the Zapatista National Liberation Army's vision of a free society, a world without borders

(Continued to page 26)

Feb. 9 EZLN Communiqué

TRANSLATED BY CINDY ARNOLD, NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR DEMOCRACY IN MÉXICO, USA
February 9, 1995

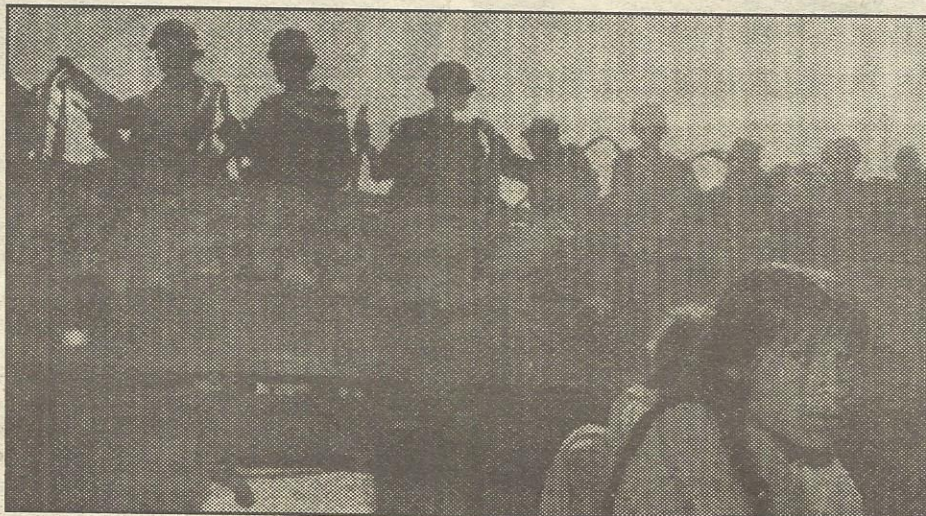
To the people of México:
To the people and governments of the world:
To the national and international press:

The Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee, General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army declares the following:

First—In response to the ultimatum of Ernesto Zedillo given on February 5th, 1995 in the city of Querétaro, Querétaro, we say:

1. Ernesto Zedillo has now made a decision. Put between choosing between, for one side, favoring the peaceful transition to democracy, to defending the national sovereignty, to changing the direction of the current brutal path of the national economy and to giving a just and dignified solution to the demands of the Mexican Indigenous; and, for the other side, leading the reaction, continuing with the flight of our riches in order to benefit the foreign stock market, continuing with the economic program based on lies and satisfying the anxiousness for

vengeance of the plantation owners and powerful businessmen in southeastern México. Made to choose, Zedillo has opted to be humble and servile with the powerful, to be haughty and arrogant with the humble.



More communiqués on pages 18, 19, 21, and 24.

2. Ernesto Zedillo has given an ultimatum to the rebel forces of the EZLN. He immediately received applause and expressions of loyalty from the men of the gallows and the knife in Chiapas, the support of the usurpers of government in the Southeast and the satisfaction of the powerful foreign capitalists.

3. The EZLN has given constant demonstrations of its disposition to dialogue.

Proof of this will can be provided by the governmental representatives with regards to the solution to the armed movement of the EZLN.

4. Now, inexplicably, when the representation of the EZLN had finalized the details for a new meeting with the governmental delegates and when among the Indigenous communities which support our just cause, the points of the agenda for the closed-door dialogue were beginning to be discussed, we receive this ultimatum.

5. The EZLN laments this surprising turn in the disposition of the federal executive. The EZLN does not bow its head before threats. For years we have lived that way, threatened by the mighty men and their private armies. Tired of this, we took up arms to demand that which is the right of every human being in every part of the world: liberty, democracy and justice. Under threats we will not talk; we will respond to intimidations, reinforcing our decision to risk the ultimate consequences in order to obtain a satisfactory, just and dignified solution to our needs.

6. Zedillo attempts to make the Congress of the Union an accomplice in the use of

(Continued to page 19)

COINTELPRO and Qubilah Shabazz

(Continued from page 1)

prison. Much of the government's war against the American Indian Movement has been planned here. The government waged that war in large part with infiltrators a tad better at their jobs than Fitzpatrick. The Native casualty count far outnumbered the government's.

Among the murdered was Anna Mae Pictou Aquash, an AIM organizer gunned down in 1976. Now, the government claims to be re-opening her unsolved case. Instead of investigating themselves (duh), or the pro-government Indian "GOON squads" that ran the reservation, they say AIM members suspected that Aquash was an informer, and killed her. As the FBI's own documents show, and as several excellent books recount, the Feds tried to feed disinformation to AIM that Aquash was working for them. This tactic is known as "badjacketing," or putting a "snitch jacket" on someone. In both the Shabazz and the Aquash cases, the government wants to manipulate emotions around a powerful unifying force in popular movements: martyrs. They want to sow division. They want to blame the movements themselves for murders by the "agents of repression." Will we let them?

THE WAR ON YOUNG, BLACK MEN

A more recent case, the Minnesota 8, should boost the local authorities even higher in Reno's esteem. Eight African-American men were accused in 1992 of being Vice Lords, and of killing a white police officer and a suspected Vice Lord police informer. At trial, it came out that the dead man, Ed Harris, was being set up to look like a snitch. Officers including a well-known Black detective repeatedly stopped him on the

street, talked to him, and let him go. He was among eight young, Black, male execution-slaying victims in a period of weeks. Two and a half years later, suspicion persists in the community that some or all of the men, possibly including Harris, were murdered by the police as payback for the policeman's death. Court documents show the quiet, background involvement of the FBI, who may have planted one of the star witnesses. Loverine Harris, Ed Harris's wife, had previously testified against a man in Illinois who went to prison for murder. She was the FBI's "confidential, reliable informant" in that case. Four convictions, two guilty pleas, one acquittal, and one legal limbo later, the police have made short work of what was left of the old Vice Lord leadership. Two men prominent in bringing the Vice Lords into the gang coalition United for Peace are in custody, one for supposedly holding a bunch of people at gunpoint in a garage because his car repairs weren't to his satisfaction, the other for allegedly ringing in the New Year with a few pistol shots from his balcony. With that grim background report, let's welcome Qubilah Shabazz to the Twin Cities.

START OF A NEW WAR?

Nobody with a lick of sense believes Qubilah Shabazz hired Michael Fitzpatrick to kill Min. Farrakhan. The only question worth posing is what the government is up to. Speculation includes the following, starting with the most obvious point:

No matter how astutely the Nation of Islam handles this, Min. Farrakhan can only lose popularity from a big, public reminder of his rivalry with Malcolm.

Either Min. Farrakhan or Ms. Shabazz could be targets of violence now, because



Qubilah Shabazz

of a plan cooked up by the government. Observers at her St. Paul arraignment noted that anyone in the standing-room-only court room could have had a weapon.

On one of the surveillance tapes, Ms. Shabazz is said to object to Fitzpatrick's plan, worrying that Jews might be revenge targets after Min. Farrakhan's assassination. Remember that Fitzpatrick infiltrated the JDL, the group Rabbi Meir Kahane founded in direct opposition to the Black Panthers. The government would like nothing better than a shoot-out between JDL and NOI sympathizers.

The Nation has shown how it's going to play this. Min. Farrakhan's first comments emphasized FBI hostility, downplayed his role in Malcolm's murder, and sent sympathy to Ms. Shabazz. *The Final Call*, the NOI paper, took a different tack: "Government, Jewish militant linked to the plot to kill Farrakhan," its headline screamed the first week in February. Let's not screw around. Michael Fitzpatrick is not a "Jewish militant." I'm a Jewish militant. Michael Fitzpatrick is a snitch. Anyway, whatever the government's plan, they're a lot less able to carry it out if everyone is loudly doubting their story. Demonstrations in support of Qubilah Shabazz should go down in a bunch of cities before her next court appearance, postponed till sometime in March.

UNITE FOR QUBILAH!

The Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota 8 didn't need to be told twice about deadly government trickery. No sooner had news of Ms. Shabazz's indictment broken than busy Committee members were strategizing about a campaign in her support. After her daughter entered a not-guilty plea on January 18, Dr. Betty Shabazz greeted and thanked half a dozen Committee members who had loitered outside the St. Paul Federal Courthouse in sub-zero wind-chill. "United we stand! The US government is the real hit man!" Committee members shouted, trying to warm up the chilly national press corps. They held a banner with the pictures of Malcolm, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Fred Hampton, all COINTELPRO martyrs. The Committee's February 18 forum, "Snitches, Frame-ups, and Provocateurs: Qubilah Shabazz, Malcolm X, and the Making of Crime," helped build for a demonstration on the 30th anniversary of Malcolm's murder, February 22. Events will continue building up through Ms. Shabazz's trial. The group understands that heavy local support will be critical in defeating the railroad.

THE GOVERNMENT'S TOOL

As for Fitzpatrick, he is an informer of the commonest, lowliest kind. This is not a free-lance spy who directs his own operations. This is a lifelong hot-dog and loser whose thrill is selling people bullshit. Cops at every level, from celebrity US attorneys to the local gang-unit officers, know how to control the con-man crook. In 1993, Fitzpatrick was looking at five years for coke he'd been caught holding. Qubilah Shabazz had for years been his fantasy "get out of jail free" card. He remembered her from high school and thought she just might kind of remember him. We don't know what Fitzpatrick may get in return, but his drug charge seems to be in limbo, and he's hanging out somewhere under government protection. The local straight press has admitted that Fitzpatrick does most of the talking on the video and audio tapes that will buttress his testimony against Ms. Shabazz. The only thing about Fitzpatrick that isn't clear yet is just when he became an informer.

At 18, he tried to blow up a Russian-language bookstore in New York, for motives that remain obscure. His taste for the crazy side of life may have hooked him up with cops or right-wingers who put him up to it, or he may have cooked up that one on his own. But after that, with FBI agents controlling him, he joined the crypto-fascist, racist Jewish Defense League in New York, got some folks to agree to blow up the Egyptian tourism office, and testified against the two JDLers who went to prison. He went into witness protection, and from there into chemical-dependency treatment. He wound up here.

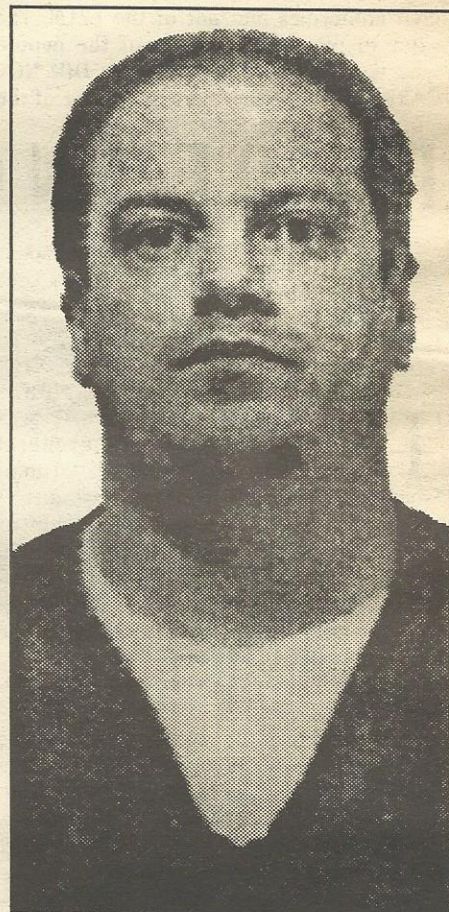
FITZPATRICK'S MINNEAPOLIS ADVENTURE

Only dedicated media snoozers can have missed how Love and Rage's own Christopher Day Gunderson helped bust Fitzpatrick out. Not long after the first descriptions of Fitzpatrick hit the press, Christopher went, "Hm." A few phone calls to anarchists who'd been active in Minneapolis in the mid-80s confirmed it. This was the same Michael, the big, ugly "free-beers-for-everyone!" Michael, who'd started hanging around Backroom Anarchist Books late in 1986.

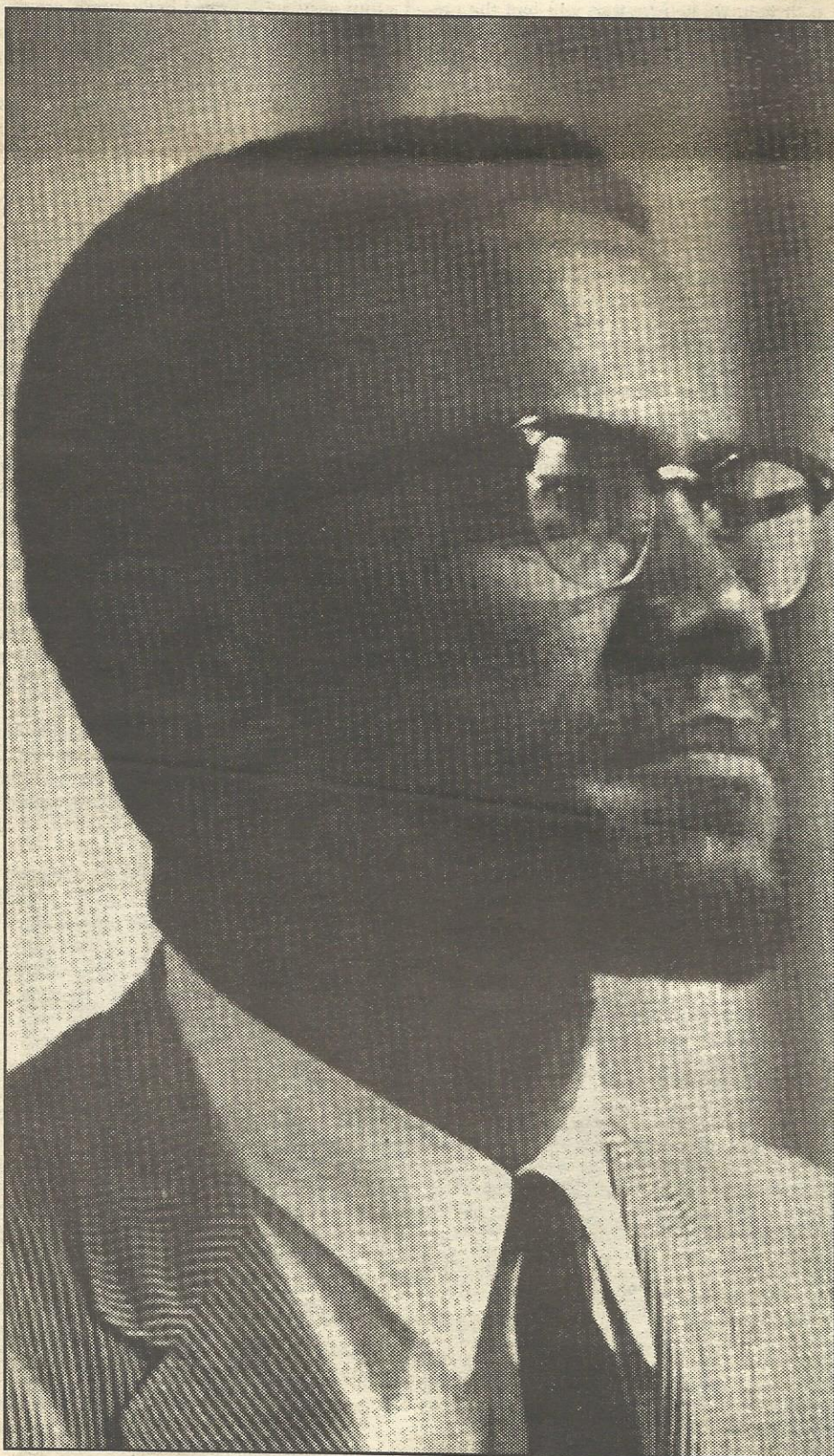
Christopher's statement to William Kunstler, one of Ms. Shabazz's lawyers, is excellent reading. It describes the arrival of a tough-talking, tale-telling guy in his 20s who tried to sway a nascent, mostly-teenage group to stop having candy-ass demos and start blowing shit up. When no one took his bait, he urged the Backroomers at least to start throwing shit around. "After a few hours we were all intoxicated and all convinced by Michael of the merits of a plan to attack a polling station with bags of human feces," Christopher states. Sober in the morning, they instead went ahead with a mild guerrilla theater protesting the 1986 election. Fitzpatrick planted a can of mace in the bookstore moments before suburban cops burst in looking for a runaway. They instantly found the mace behind the books where the infiltrator had stashed it. He talked a man who was crashing in the bookstore's loft, but was not formally in the collective, into keeping a shotgun in the store, since things were getting so "heavy." The collective talked the man into giving the gun back to Fitzpatrick. If you're a convicted felon caught with a gun, you either go to prison or you don't. It all depends on if you're a Vice Lord or a white informer like Fitzpatrick. Fitzpatrick boasted to the anarchists of having been in the Communist Workers Party, the group that an Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms undercover agent set up to get shot up by the Klan in Greensboro, NC, in 1979. To a woman he wanted to impress, he boasted he'd infiltrated the JDL. She passed word back to the Backroomers, who threw him out forever in December 1986 or January 1987.

'TIL THE CHICKENS COME HOME TO ROOST

The authorities here are used to getting away with infiltration, frames, and murder. Qubilah Shabazz's trial this spring will be an opportunity to teach them a lesson. An international show of unity for Ms. Shabazz will be necessary. Rest assured the movements here will be inside the court room and out.★



Michael Fitzpatrick



Malcolm X



Grozny, the capitol of Chechnya, in the aftermath of Russian imperialism.

Chechnya and National Liberation

BY CHRIS HOBSON

As this is written in mid-February, Shali, Samashki, Argun and other towns around the Chechen capital, Grozny, where Chechen forces have regrouped, are taking the full brunt of Russian fighter-bomber attacks, tank barges, and mortar bombardments. In Grozny itself, thousands of buildings have only a wall or two standing. For nearly 10 weeks after the Russians invaded on Dec. 11 to reverse a 1991 declaration of independence, fighters in Grozny resisted block by block. Now, fewer than a hundred thousand people pick for food in what was once a city of 400,000. Moving on, Russian forces level the countryside of a tiny country that Russia originally conquered by force only 135 years ago.

Russian announcements follow a well-thumbed script. A "Provisional Council" is named to run the country, headed by a former Soviet oil minister. There's talk of negotiation, announcements of cease-fires, when Grozny still holds out—then the proclamation that the Chechen president is a "state criminal," when the balance shifts. Western governments are supporting Yeltsin, with mild criticisms. President Clinton goes out of his way to mention that Chechnya is part of Russia, and adds that "if the forces of reform are embattled, we must renew—not retreat from—our support for them." He is referring to Boris Yeltsin. German chancellor Helmut Kohl, visiting Clinton in February, agrees: we must not "push the forces of reform and the President into a corner." (Yeltsin is happy to oblige them, once he has the upper hand; another cease-fire is announced Feb. 13.)

To the contrary of what Clinton and Kohl say, the real lessons are clear:

The effort to peacefully reform communism into a democratic system has failed.

The struggle for self-determination is one of the strongest real forces for change—a step toward democratization today, and toward the goal of a voluntary federation of free peoples, still far away.

SOME HISTORY

Russia (then Muscovy) began expanding into Muslim lands to its south and east in the 1500s, reaching the Caucasus about a century later. Russian policy was both imperialist and anti-Muslim. As one history summarizes, "the liquidation of the governing bodies of these territories was followed by a systematic occupation of the former Muslim lands.... Muslim inhabitants were treated as Russian subjects to whom the rights reserved to Christians were denied" (*Muslims of the Soviet Empire*, 8). Despite some periods of relative tolerance—under Catherine the Great in the 1700s, after the 1905 Revolution, during the Soviet "New Economic Policy" of the 1920s—suppression was the rule.

The Chechens and other tribal peoples, such as Daghestanis, resisted Russian control until the nineteenth century. A major revolt broke out under Imam Mansur in 1783, but the Chechen leader Sheikh Shamil led the longest, bitterest resistance, a harassing guerrilla war from the rugged Chechen hills that lasted from 1834 to

1859. With his capture the Chechen lands became part of Russia, but Chechens and Daghestanis revolted again, against Bolshevik rule, in 1920-22.

In the 1930s, the Chechens and the neighboring Ingush people were organized into the "Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic," ruled from Moscow. Legally, this was part of Russia, unlike Ukraine, Kazakhstan, etc., which were supposedly independent republics of the USSR on a par with Russia. (This is why, when these republics declared the USSR dissolved in 1991, Chechnya remained inside Russia.)

From 1928 to 1941—the period of Soviet forced industrialization, collectivization, and purges—Stalin carried out "a frontal assault on Islam within Soviet borders. This assault resulted in the closing of thousands of mosques and the liquidation or imprisonment of most Muslim clerics... clerics and believers were accused of being saboteurs, counter-revolutionaries and parasites." (*Muslims of the Soviet Empire*, 11) In a so-called "super-purge" on Aug. 1, 1937, Stalin's police arrested, executed, or deported 14,000 people in the Chechen-Ingush republic—one out of every 30 inhabitants.

Finally, after anti-Russian, anti-communist movements as German armies approached the Caucasus in 1942, Stalin ordered the deportation of the entire Chechen and Ingush population in 1944. "Security Police units entered the Chechen-Ingush ASSR disguised as ordinary troops. On 23 February, when people were assembled in villages to mark Red Army Day, they were suddenly surrounded by security forces and informed of the decree." (*Soviet Disunion*, 96) These deportations took an enormous toll in lives. Up to 46 percent of

the neighboring Crimean Tatars, also deported en masse, were killed or died in transit or in exile. The number of Chechen and Ingush casualties is not known.

When the Chechens and Ingush were finally allowed to return in the 1950s, they endured rioting and massacres by local Russians (1958) and renewed anti-Muslim campaigns—in the 1960s, when two-thirds of the mosques in the whole Soviet Union were closed, and again in the 1980s. Sporadic resistance to Russia continued too—bombings, secret resistance meetings, and an effort to found a "United Party for the Liberation of the Caucasus" in 1969 (the leader was sent to a mental hospital); mass demonstrations in 1973, and so on.

Despite the brutal suppression, Russia never succeeded in fully controlling the Chechens. Both social and religious reasons help explain why. The clan-tribal social structure, still strong as late as the 1980s, means that the average Chechen, even in the cities, belongs to a social network that has nothing to do with the official government, and that has always been highly resistant to Russian suppression. Religious devotion, too, is a major reason for fighting a government that has repeatedly tried to stamp Islam out. More specifically, a traditional semi-secret network of Sufi brotherhoods, parallel to the official Sunni Muslim religious structure, has provided organization and leadership for resistance. Imam Mansur, Sheikh Shamil, Uzun Haji (leader of the 1920-22 rebellion), and leaders of other Muslim insurgencies elsewhere in Russia were all members of various Sufi societies. The Sufi orders were still strong in the 1980s, and may well be involved in the present resistance.

INDEPENDENT CHECHNYA

This background makes it clear why Chechnya declared independence in 1991, when the USSR cracked up after the attempted coup in August of that year. Simply put, Chechen resistance has broken out every time Russian power has been weakened—in 1920-22, 1942, 1991.

Nevertheless, independence was not the result of a popular movement. There was no substantial dissident movement in Chechnya in the 1980s, as there was in Ukraine, for example. Rather, the current president, Dzhokhar M. Dudayev—a former Soviet air force general in Afghanistan—ran a pro-independence campaign as an opportunist maneuver to gain power, much as local Communist Party heads did in some other republics.

There is some truth in Russian charges that the Chechen government is both a dictatorship and a front for organized crime. Dudayev's allies, later his police, were the Chechen crime syndicates who had traditionally been active as smugglers and as gangs in Moscow. When Peter Jennings of the *New Statesman* and *Nation* visited Grozny in 1993, he noted "lines of new Mercedes, BMWs and Cadillacs" were parked outside the presidential palace. Dudayev explained that the cars "show the wealth of our nation... that our lads, our Chechen people, have learned how to function creatively under the new conditions." Meanwhile, up to \$300 million in oil revenues disappeared.

To some extent Chechen crime is a typical economic operation of an empire's "cut-siders"—after all, why should Chechens respect Russian legality? But Chechens too are among the regime's victims. Jennings reported that workers "complain they have received no wages for months" and "live in constant fear" of armed gangs, the police force was quintupled (part of the problem), and journalists who tried to investigate the corruption were killed.

But to state what should be obvious, the Russian invasion transformed this situation of growing dictatorship, with lingering nationalist support for Dudayev, into a mass struggle. "The fighters now don't fight for Dudayev, but for themselves," one guerrilla told the *New York Times*, a comment echoed over and over. Though we shouldn't have any simplistic optimism about prospects for democracy if it should win, the anti-Russian movement is a mass national resistance.

STATE CAPITALISM + IMPERIALISM = BAD NEWS

Two major lessons can be learned from the Chechen situation. First, communism, or state capitalism, can't be peacefully reformed into a democratic system, any more than other forms of capitalism can be peacefully reformed into a free, equal system. The point here isn't one of definitions, but one of dynamics.

Communism in the old USSR had two historic problems, and neither one has been solved. The first was that its economic system, one of state capitalism, was in permanent stagnation. The US and US-dominated financial institutions, like the International Monetary Fund, want Yeltsin to "solve" this situation through a wholesale attack on mass living standards. Despite some "successes" in this plan, it has been too politically dangerous to carry through, so the Russian economy is in a downward spiral it can't seem to break out of.

The second problem, symbolized by Chechnya, is that Russia is a state built on the suppression of non-Russian nationalities. A glance at the map tells the story. Over half of Russia's area consists of non-Russian lands that, like Chechnya, are "autonomous" areas or republics in law. If Chechen secession is recognized, the whole pile takes a lurch toward collapse. In other words, Russia remains an empire of suppressed nations. Any progress toward real democracy risks breaking it up.

Since neither problem has been solved, and both can only be solved within the present system through undemocratic means, Russia's fragile parliamentary system and its recently granted political freedoms are in danger of unraveling. Since January, critics of the government like Yeltsin's own human rights commissioner, Sergei A. Kovalev, have been denounced as "enemies of the people"—a death sentence in Russia's recent past—and it has become clear that the decisions about Chechnya are being made by a mainly military body called the National Security Council. Yeltsin himself seems to be under the thumb of the NSC. One parliamentary leader calls this body "a military-civilian junta disguised as the National Security Council," and warns, "If it continues Russia will be ripe for an authoritarian dictatorship."

(Continued to page 25)



A Chechen soldier taking a break for some music.

Hunter Students SEEK Justice

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

The crowd of several hundred students stood silently, with their backs turned, as the provost of New York City's Hunter College, Laura F. Struminger, tried to convince them that her plan to gut the SEEK program was in their interests. Unconvinced, a chant of "Hands off SEEK!" rose up from the students. Blanc began to storm off, restrained only by her advisers, who had a better understanding of what this protest meant. One by one, organizers of the protest took the microphone and spelled out the implications of the plan, as Blanc sputtered "You're being manipulated" to the students.

What was most exciting about the protest and the ensuing organizing activity is that it was all initiated by SEEK students themselves, and not by the student government bureaucrats who dominate the political life of Hunter. The main organizers were tutors, SEEK students who had succeeded in college and were now assisting other students. Only a handful of non-SEEK students came around for the organizing work.

Another exciting thing about this protest is how it has laid the groundwork for a mass, militant response to the latest round of cuts in financial aid, class closings,

teacher layoffs, and tuition increases under the budget proposed by New York governor George Pataki. Previous budget cuts and tuition increases have resulted in city-wide student strikes. In 1989 these strikes defeated a proposed tuition increase. In 1991 the strike movement did not succeed (see "Student Strike Rocks New York," *Love and Rage* Vol. 2 No. 5, May 1991).

The SEEK program is the main mechanism used by the City University of New York (CUNY), of which Hunter College is a part, to guarantee open admission to New York City high school graduates who do not meet the ordinary entrance requirements. SEEK provides special remedial and developmental courses through an independent Department of Academic Skills, which allows SEEK students to receive financial aid without taking a full credit load. SEEK also guarantees financial aid for five years, provides tutoring, and generally assists students in surviving in an often hostile environment. The vast majority of SEEK students are students of color, often the first members of their families to go to college.

The plan to gut SEEK is the result of a demand by CUNY that each college "restructure" its SEEK program. Most CUNY schools have already done so, but the direc-

tor of the SEEK program at Hunter refused to go along with these demands; he was replaced by a more compliant director, who promptly produced the demanded "restructuring proposal." The essence of the proposal was to transfer all the faculty out of the Department of Academic Skills into the English and Math Departments, and to force SEEK students to take regular remedial courses. A regular remedial course load does not qualify a student for financial aid, so SEEK students would be effectively forced to take non-remedial courses, which they are not prepared for, at the same time as their remedial courses. The proposal is a one-two punch to the SEEK program that would make its elimination during future budget cuts a virtual certainty. The proposal simultaneously sets SEEK students up for failure and breaks up the institutional weight of the SEEK faculty, also largely people of color, by forcing them into overwhelmingly white departments.

The college administration has attempted to sell the plan as one motivated by a desire to "desegregate" the two distinct remedial programs and to diversify the English and Math Departments. But the plan was developed in consultation with the English and Math faculty behind the backs of the SEEK

faculty. The administration argues that the separate SEEK courses attach a stigma to the students who take them, and that this (not the crappy educations they got in high school) accounts for their high attrition rate. But the SEEK students themselves are fiercely loyal to the program because they know that, for all of its deficiencies, it is their best chance to escape lives of grinding poverty.

The proposal was sprung on the SEEK students just two weeks before the end of the fall semester, as students were preparing for finals. In spite of this, there was a flurry of organizing activity, including the protest and a later mass meeting in the middle of finals. It appears that much of the implementation took place during winter break, and it is unclear at this writing, in the first week of the spring semester, if there will be any more resistance.

The fight to defend SEEK at Hunter may be over. If so, it is an important preface to the coming battle against the budget cuts. In a few short weeks, SEEK students demonstrated their capacity to organize a defiant, democratic mass movement on campus. That experience will prove to be of great value in building the sort of movement it will take to defeat this next round of budget cuts in NY and everywhere else.★

NOTES OF REVOLT

IWW to Open Ben Fletcher Center in Philadelphia

The Philadelphia IWW is proud to announce its newest acquisition, the Ben Fletcher Center, a 4500-square-foot union hall and community center. Located at 1652 Ridge Ave., it is located on the northern edge of Center City Philadelphia, in a community called Francisville. The neighborhood is primarily African-American and Latino, and is accessible to Temple University and other area schools, as well as convenient to public transportation.

Since early December Philadelphia wobblies and friends have been hard at work on the renovation of the building, and it is expected that the center will officially open its doors in early April. Plans for the center include: (a) a 1260-sq.-foot reading room with a broad selection of IWW and progressive literature; (b) a public-access internet site with multiple terminals, and part of the local freenet system that is being put together by local wobblies; (c) a homeless/squatter support center with showers, washer/dryer, toilet facilities, and mail and phone services; (d) a kitchen for use by the three local Food Not Bombs groups (West Philadelphia, Francisville, and Kensington); (e) a small printing plant with presses, copiers, and desktop-publishing facilities; (f) a 950-sq.-ft. hall for use as a meeting hall, dance and music hall, and practice space, also available for use by outside groups; (g) transitional housing for up to six IWW members and traveling organizers, including kitchen and common space.

Repairs have been proceeding ahead of schedule, and support from the IWW and the Philadelphia community have been instru-



A group of anarchists protesting neoliberal economic policies attacked the US embassy in Mexico City.

mental in making the center a reality. In conjunction with the repairs and renovations of the hall, we have started distributing shoes left on site to workers and unemployed in Philadelphia, and expect to continue distributing the nearly 5000 pairs through the Spring and Summer. Approximately 100 pairs of sneakers have also been sent to Grenada for use by the many survivors of US imperialism on the island.★

Smashing Capitalism in New York

We received the following in the mail:

Communique
Dear Compas,

In response to the Mexican government choosing to employ military action against the Zapatistas, we found it necessary on Sunday, Feb. 12, 1995, to carry out acts of sabotage against the New York branches of Bancomer and Banco Mexicano. In addition, numerous branches

of Chase Manhattan Bank were hit. Chase has taken a particularly aggressive role in pushing the Mexican government to take military action against the people of Chiapas and the EZLN.

The New York Police Department offered no resistance. We take these actions in solidarity with the people of Chiapas.

¡La Lucha Continúa!
Chase Out Of Chiapas!★

Other Anti-Authoritarian/Anti-Imperialist Periodicals

Free Society
PO Box 35
Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009

The new 46 page issue of this anarchist journal of radical theory is out now. Now produced in New York City. \$2 by mail.

Black Autonomy
123 Broadway Ave. E
Box #914
Seattle, WA 98102

14 page newspaper of the Federation of Black Community Partisans.

Black history, direct action
and prisoner support.
Issue #2 is available now.
\$1 by mail.

Colonial War Review
Box 25, 197
Hunter St. W.
Peterborough, Ontario K9H 2L1
Publication of the Anti-Colonial Action Alliance, lots of information on Native resistance and other issues. Currently on issue #3. \$2.50 by mail free to prisoners.

Calendar

April 9, Sun.
National Pro-Choice Mobilization
in Washington, DC
Call (718) 834-9077
for Anarchist Contingent Information

April 19-23, Wed.-Sun.
Disrupt Human Life International's
anti-choice conference in Montreal!
Fascists from around the world beware!
Info: (514) 848-7431
(514) 596-7094

May 19-21
Arrowbear Anarchist Conference
A gathering in a small mountain
community two hours east of LA.
Info: (310) 490-7284

June 2-4, New York City
Social Ecology and the Urban Alternative
The Annual Conference of
the Institute for Social Ecology
Info: (718) 963-4839
(718) 832-3609

Anti-Fascism on Trial in Germany

In the fall of 1991, a series of investigations were started in the German city of Göttingen concerning the law Paragraph 129a (propaganda for, support for, formation of, or membership in a terrorist organization). The reason for these investigations were 52 unsolved anti-fascist "attacks" that had been carried out in the Göttingen region since 1981. The state prosecutor's office in Celle (GSA) formed a special commission with Lower Saxony's criminal justice department (LKA), the SoKo 606, which was supposed to "solve" these attacks. It soon became clear that the cops were focusing their investigations on autonomist anti-fascists. In Aug. 1992, the first series of house raids were carried out in connection with the 129a investigations in Göttingen, Osterode, and Berlin. The searches turned up nothing, and no criminal proceedings were launched. Another raid in Nov. 1992 in Ulzen, on the house of an anti-fascist linked to the Göttingen investigations, also failed to produce results.

THE BIG ANTI-ANTIFA RAID

In June 1992, it first was made public that the 129a investigations were directed against the organization Autonome Antifa (M), whose name was continually mentioned in connection with the investigations. On June 5-6, 1994, the GSA-Celle and the LKA let the cat out of the bag. The homes of 17 people charged with being members of Autonome Antifa (M) were raided. The raids were not only carried out in Göttingen, but also in various places in the states of Lower Saxony, Hessen, and North Rhine-Westphalia. The Students Association (ASStA) office at Göttingen University was also raided, as was the infoshop 'Buchladen Rote Strasse,' a graphic design studio, and a printing shop. A total of 30 searches were carried out, the largest anti-Antifa raid ever in the Federal Republic of Germany. But these raids were no longer concerned with explaining the 52 attacks or claims of the formation of a terrorist organization. The cops were suddenly silent about these accusations. The charges now were based on Paragraph 129 (formation of a criminal organization) and Autonome Antifa (M)'s violation of public assembly laws. Some of these 129-investigations are also 129a-investigations. Now the claim was also being made that Autonome Antifa (M) were in direct contact with the Red Army Fraction (RAF), which is a pure state propaganda lie. The 129a accusations are largely directed at the spreading of one KuK ('Kunst und Kampf', Art and Struggle) poster by alleged members of Autonome Antifa (M). This poster was used to publicize an Autonome Antifa (M) event held on May 6, 1993. Speakers at the event, besides Autonome Antifa (M), included two former RAF-prisoners, Gisela Dutzi and Gunter

Sonnenberg, as well as the editors of the newspaper "clockwork 129a." The poster for the event showed the remains of the Weiterstadt prison that had been blown up by a RAF commando in March of that year.

INVESTIGATIONS AGAINST AUTONOME ANTIFA (M)

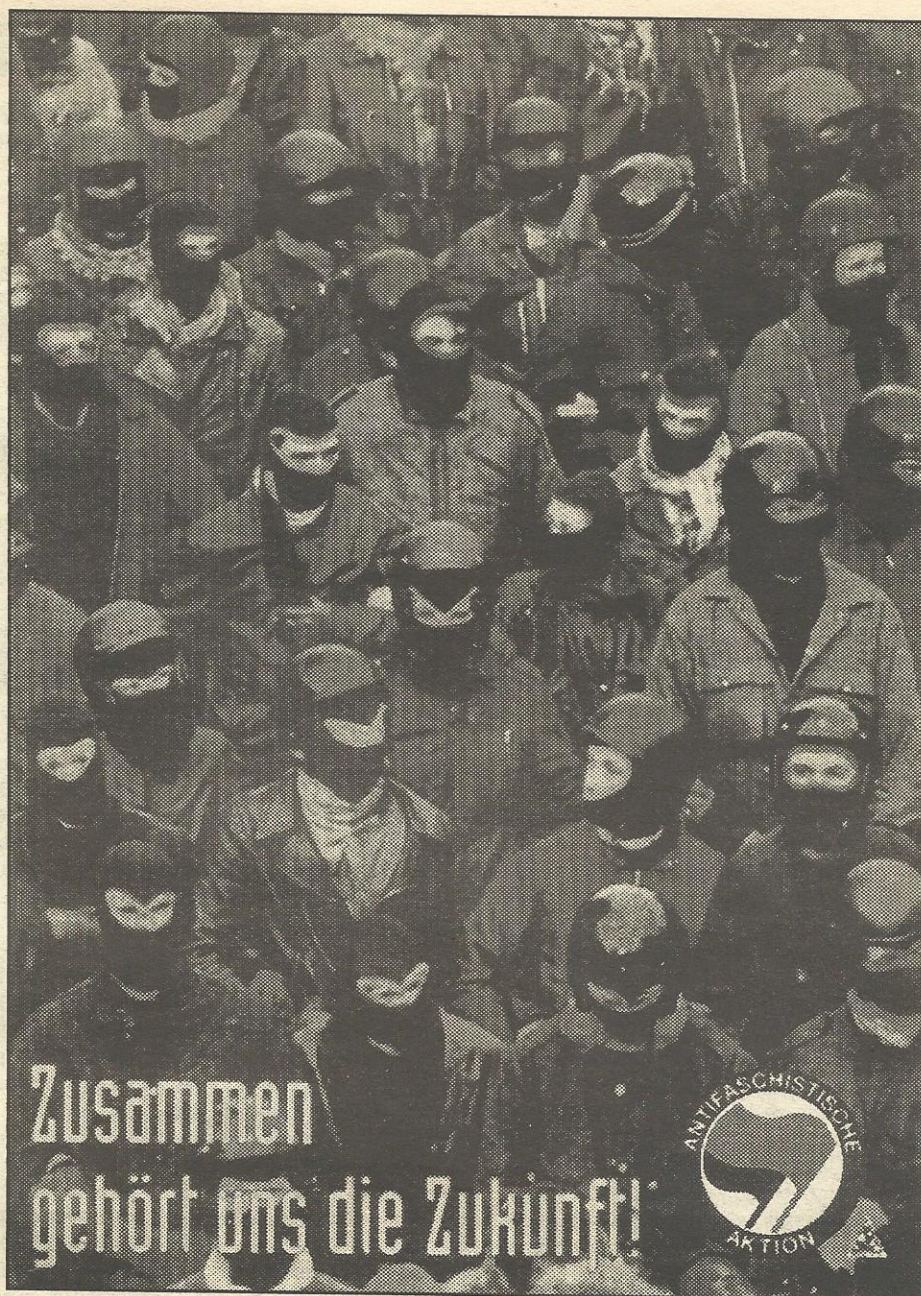
Besides the 129/129a investigations directed against Autonome Antifa (M), there is now also a separate 129a investigation underway against the infoshop 'Buchladen Rote Strasse' because they sold a pamphlet entitled "Selected Historical Documents: Federal Republic of Germany-Red Army Fraction," which was published by GNN-Verlag [a major publisher] and which is now circulating in its 6th edition, and because the infoshop allegedly sold photocopies of a RAF communique that had already appeared in a nearly complete form in several daily newspapers. In Nov. 1994, the people who run the infoshop were charged with 129a: spreading propaganda for the RAF.

Shortly before Christmas 1994, lawyers representing the 17 people charged with membership in Autonome Antifa (M) were sent huge boxes with 31 files from the GSA-Celle. The files showed the massive amount of observation that had been carried out in Göttingen over the last three years. These dictated serious violations of individual privacy: telephone tapping, observations, research into peoples' private lives, etc. These 31 files are only the tip of the iceberg. There are several more boxes full of files not released by the Celle authorities, presumably because they are not relevant to this case. After looking at the files, it is now clear the number of people being accused of membership in Autonome Antifa (M) has risen from 17 to at least 25.

NEW 129A INVESTIGATIONS

In Jan. 1995, new 129a investigations were launched. In addition to the separate charges filed against the infoshop and the 25 criminalized persons accused of membership in Autonome Antifa (M), there is now an investigation under way of the anti-fascist cultural initiative KuK. The LKA's reason for this is a brochure produced by KuK for an exhibition that took place in Göttingen on Oct. 9, 1994 entitled "Forbidden Art". This criminalization of KuK's art is truly unique for Germany.

The KuK Initiative was formed in the early '80s in connection with the German autonomist and anti-imperialist movements. Starting in 1985, KuK posters, oil paintings, and actions were continually banned. The house searches, confiscations, and investigations have continued to this day. Even the 'Verfassungsschutz' (VS), the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, keeps



Autonomists in a KuK postcard

its eyes on KuK. For example, in the chapter entitled "Autonomists" in the 1991 Lower Saxony state VS report, there is a line that reads: "Several 'anti-fascist struggle' initiatives have arisen from this scene in Göttingen. These are closely connected to the 'KuK Initiative'."

So it's no surprise that during Germany's biggest-ever anti-Antifa raid on June 5-6, 1994 the cops were especially interested in objects bearing KuK's logo. In total, more than 200 KuK posters were confiscated.

THE "FORBIDDEN ART" EXHIBITION

The KuK wanted to publicly expose the methods of the state apparatus with its Oct. 9, 1994 exhibition in the lobby of the Jung Theater in Göttingen. The exhibition displayed posters that had been banned by the political police, oil paintings, and pictures of various agit-prop actions from 1983-1994. These agit-prop actions were mostly street-theater performances, such as those

(Continued to page 26)

Anarchy in Greece

On Jan. 11 more than 150 anarchists broke off from a student demonstration that was protesting the death of teacher Nikos Temboneras four years earlier in clashes between students and extreme-rightists. The anarchists seized Athens Law School in the heart of the city, burning barricades of desks and chairs outside and throwing petrol bombs and stones at the cops. Bank windows were also smashed. Five comrades were arrested.

In other news, a new Greek anarchist weekly newspaper, *Alpha*, is being launched by anarchists in Thessaloniki and Athens.

Alpha
POB 50042
54013 Thessaloniki
Greece

INTERNATIONAL News and Notes

Guerilla Struggle in Zaire

BY MATTHEW QUEST

The Movement of Workers and Peasants of Congo-Kinshasa (Zaire, the former Belgian Congo) is waging guerrilla struggle against the CIA-imposed and -backed dictatorship of Joseph Mobutu Sese Seko. The MOP (French initials), a united front of a few Marxist-Leninist tendencies and their supporters, lays claim to the legacies of Patrice Lumumba and Pierre Mulele.

Patrice Lumumba, the first prime minister of what was called Congo at "independence," June 30, 1960, was assassinated by a conspiracy of Mobutu, Moise Tshombe, Joseph Kasavubu, the CIA, and Belgian mercenaries less than six months later, on Jan. 17, 1961. At the time Mobutu was a prominent officer in the army. Tshombe was a leader of a CIA-backed secessionist movement of Katanga (now Shaba)

province. Shaba, Swahili for copper, was the province of greatest concern to neo-colonial interest. Kasavubu, first president of parliament, publicly took a neutral position on Mobutu's prior bloodless removal of Lumumba from office, but later he was revealed to be part of the assassination plot. Lumumba distinguished himself as a great Pan-African leader by signing an agreement with Kwame Nkrumah to unite with Ghana and Sekou Toure's Guinea in a future continental government, the United States of Africa.

Pierre Mulele is credited with introducing guerrilla struggle and Marxist-Leninist ideas into the early struggle against Mobutu and neo-colonialism. Lumumba's former minister of education, he was a Maoist and was trained in guerrilla warfare by China. He led a tendency in Kwilu province, one of many

independent guerrilla fronts in the Congo, from 1963-1968, when he was assassinated under mysterious circumstances.

Mobutu has been in power officially 30 years (unofficially more than 34 years). He is one of the five richest individuals in the world. He is worth \$10 billion. Zaire has a national debt of \$7 billion, and its national bank has \$5,000 in assets. Mobutu's regime, while being an acknowledged atrocious human rights abuser, continues to exploit IMF programs.

The union movement, while either being a pawn of Mobutu or repressed for some time, has dwindled from 1 million in size to roughly 250,000. When people eat once every 48 hours they tend not to stay on the job. Investment in the neo-colonial economy has leveled off but the multi-national corporations still maintain their interests in the nation that produces the

most diamonds in the world and the sixth most copper in an ever increasingly mechanized mining industry.

Reportedly the MOP has set up dual governments in the roughly 20% of the territory of the country that is under its control. They are strong in parts of three provinces in the eastern part of the country: Shaba, Kivu, and Kisangani. The success of their struggle has strategic implications for Rwanda as well because the military bases of the US and France, whose forces have intervened against the progressive Rwandan Patriotic Front, have come from Zaire.

Serge Mukendi, the US representative of the MOP, is available to speak, distribute literature, and is collecting donations to combat the cholera epidemic and continue the fight.

For more information contact:

Serge Mukendi
c/o National Congo Support Committee
PO Box 2919
Grand Central Station
NY, NY 10017
(212) 261-2284
(212) 767-1733

The Bell Curve: Familiarizing the Public with the Language of Fascism

BY WAYNE PRICE

There has recently been a lot of publicity around Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*. The authors claim that IQ tests prove that African-Americans are dumber than whites, lower class whites are dumber than middle- and upper-class whites, and immigrants are dumber than native-born whites.

Along with a number of related books, *The Bell Curve* has been widely reviewed and discussed in the mass-circulation news-magazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, and *US News*), the political publications of liberalism and conservatism (*New Republic*, *Nation*, *Commentary*, etc.), and on the opinion pages and columns of the influential newspapers. The reception has mostly been critical but respectful.

I have not read the whole book, only excerpts together with descriptions and commentary. This is not, then, a book review, but a discussion of a social phenomenon.

THE USA AS AN OPEN SOCIETY?

Murray and Herrnstein admit that, in the past, inequality was caused by environmental factors of discrimination and prejudice. But now, they claim, all this oppression has passed away. Nowadays we have an open meritocracy, where individuals from all races, classes, genders, and religions rise freely to the top or fall to the bottom, based only on their intelligence. This creates a "cognitive elite" on top and an "underclass" of fools on the bottom.

The view that the USA is an open society has little relation to reality. Despite certain gains, won with great effort, racism and sexism remain deeply embedded in the structures of every institution. Class position permits wealthier parents to pass on wealth, social contracts, and the social skills and culture needed to advance in this society.

These writers are not making the standard conservative argument. The non-fascist right usually argues that those on the bottom are lazy, shiftless, and immoral; they could do better but chose not to. Therefore society has no responsibility for them; let them starve if they will not work! But Murray and company state that those on the bottom really cannot help themselves. They are simply biologically inferior. This view takes conservatism a giant step toward an openly racist, biological ideology. Its implications, never spelled out, are fascist, including forced sterilization, eugenics, and genocide.

Murray and Herrnstein are clear about the political character of their work. Murray states that he is saying openly the sort of (racist, undemocratic) comments that wealthier white people say privately. Herrnstein is dead, but Murray connects his views with attacks on welfare, Head Start, educational

enrichment, and immigration, and with fear of a growing "white underclass."

PHONY SCIENCE

Defenders of *The Bell Curve* and similar works argue that their opinions should be respected, even if disagreed with, because they are scientific and scholarly. Actually there is no new research presented here, just a rehash of already known material mixed with falsehoods and blatant misinterpretations.

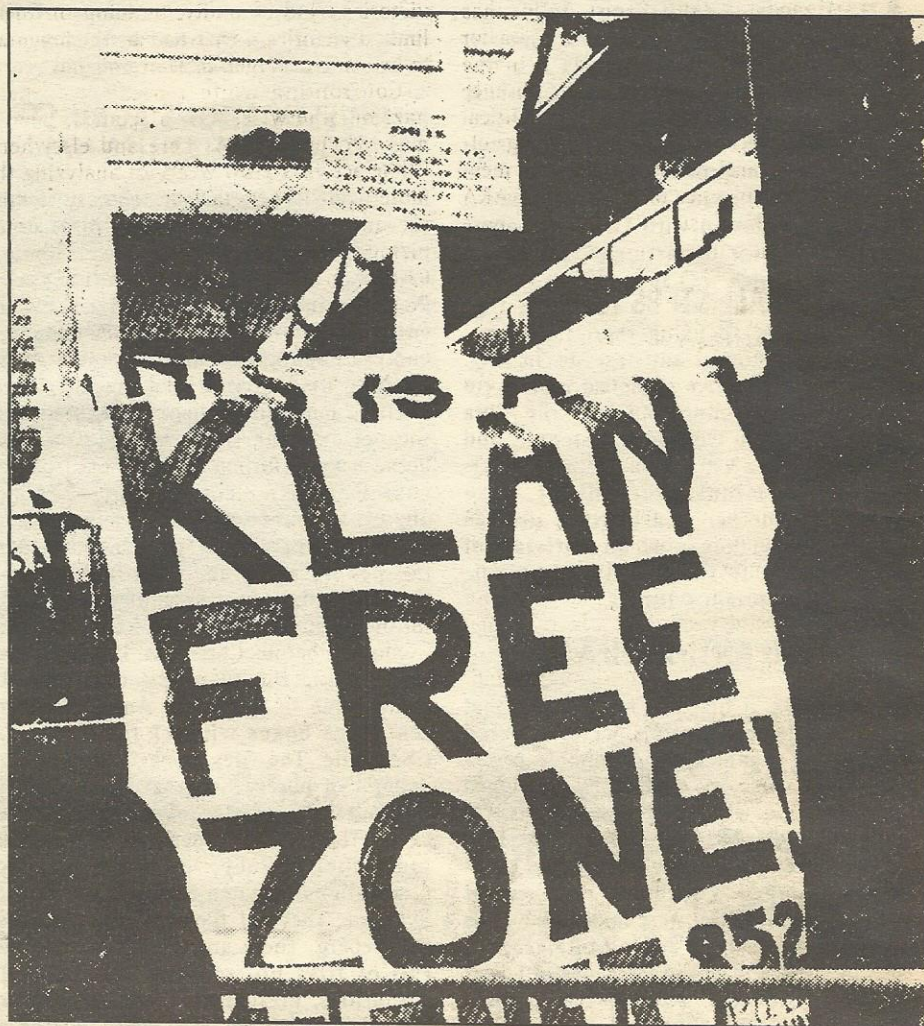
The Bell Curve confuses two very different concepts of "IQ." (Actually, most intelligence or cognitive tests no longer use the term, but I will use "IQ" to mean "scores on intelligence tests.") One is that IQ is a measure of innate intelligence, underlying actual thinking, what people are born with, unaffected by environment, and unchangeable over a lifetime. It is a real thing in the head (perhaps the speed of nerve conduction). This is the implicit view of Murray and other conservative ideologues.

However, this is nonsense. It is as if someone claimed to have a ruler that did not measure people's real height (caused by the interaction of their genes with the environment) but an innate, underlying Height, unaffected by their diet, and distinct from how tall they actually are.

The other concept is that IQs and other scores are test scores, created to estimate a useful theoretical concept, "general intelligence," that is not a thing but a summary of a set of thinking skills. These include the ability to learn from experience in this culture, to use language (English), to solve problems logically, to think abstractly, and to concentrate on a task. Such skills are the product of a complex interaction between genetic heredity and many aspects of the social and physical environment. This view of intelligence testing is consistent with that of the big majority of psychologists and researchers.

Obviously this set of cognitive skills does not cover all aspects of thinking or acting. It does not include thinking creatively or originally. It does not include artistic or musical or athletic ability. In fact, children may not be classified as retarded just on the basis of an intelligence test; they must also have an evaluation of adaptive behavior: how they take care of themselves and relate to others. Neuropsychologists, who examine brain/cognitive interaction, will usually add a memory test, among other instruments, to an intelligence test. Finally, IQ does not include motivation, so important to how well people do in life, and something heavily influenced by environment and experience.

The manual for the most widely used intelligence test states, "Intellectual ability is only one aspect of intelligence....[We] must distinguish between test scores or IQs on the one hand and intelligence on the other" (*Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children—Third Edition, Manual*).



Anti-Klan Demonstration in Cincinnati on 12-17-94

HOW IMPORTANT IS "INTELLIGENCE"?

The bell-curve claim that intelligence test scores are important because they predict several aspects of life. Since they treat IQs as measuring innate, biological intelligence, they treat such predictions as proving that intelligence causes these things—instead of as just happening together with them.

It is true that, in general, IQs predict fairly well how people will do in school. After all, these tests try to measure just those traits most important in schools.

IQs predict, but much more weakly, how well people will do in terms of jobs and income. School-type skills and school learning are only weakly connected with "getting ahead"; useful but only up to a point. Otherwise college professors would be the richest people.

More negatively, low IQ scores predict—weakly—the likelihood of going to jail, using dope, having babies without being married, and generally doing things that are dangerous and not respectable. This "proves" little except that it is unpleasant to be undereducated, unemployed, and poor.

RACISM

However the conservatives make this exciting by noting that different population groups have different average IQ scores. Thus African-Americans consistently test lower—on the average—than European-Americans. The implication is that Blacks are a biological group that is innately inferior to whites in intelligence, and that this causes Black poverty and crime.

This is ridiculous, because "racial" groups are not biological entities. Black people have quite a lot of white ancestry, as whites have a good deal of Black. Both African-Americans and European-Americans are mergers of a wide range of physical types. Nor are "immigrants" a biological grouping.

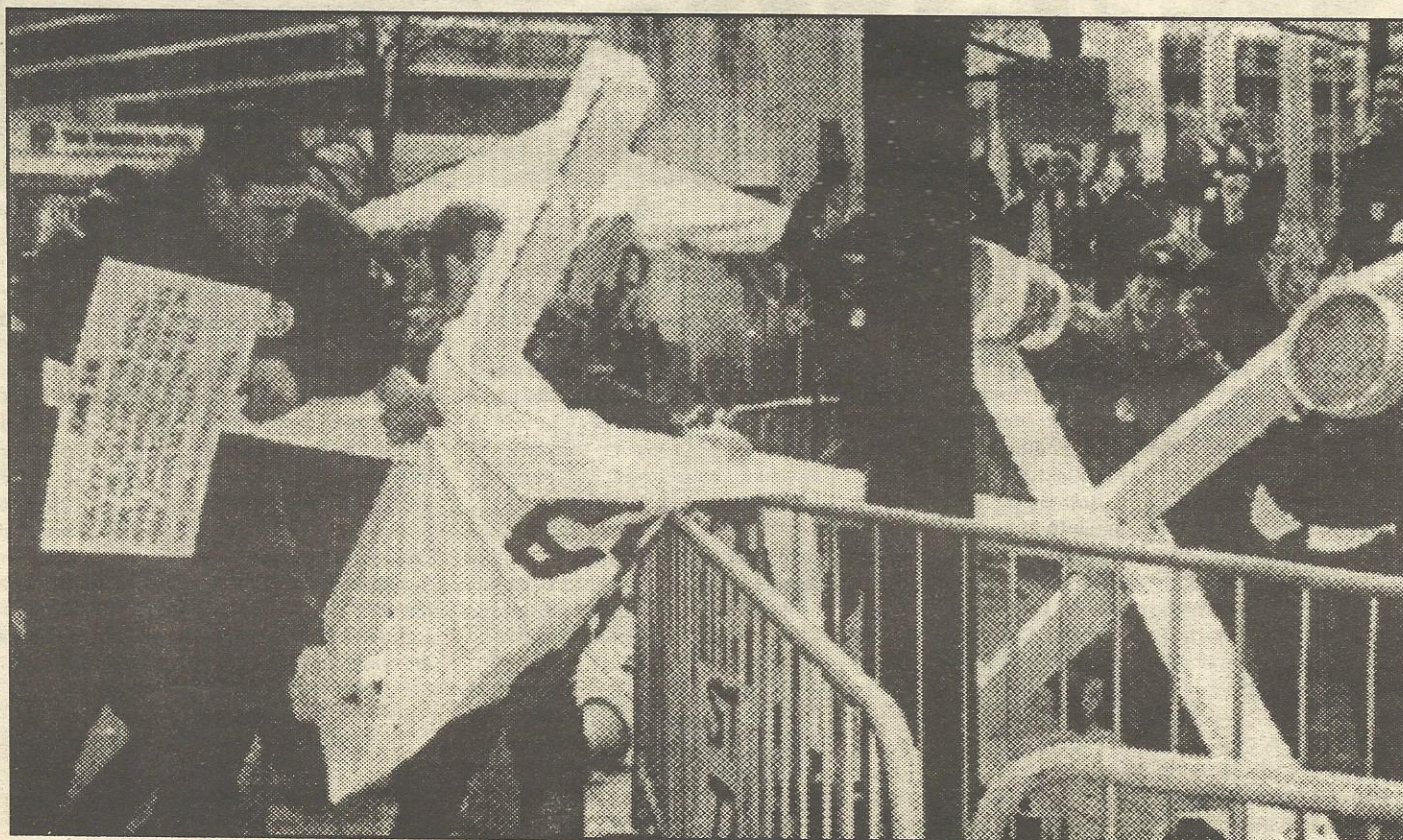
From the other view of "intelligence," as a concept about a set of mental skills, the meaning of "facts" changes. Different ethnic and class groups have different social psychologies—each group's common way of thinking, valuing, and behaving. Average group IQs go together with group values and behavior because they are all part of the common way of thinking, not because intelligence causes all the other more-or-less common aspects of group life.

Some social groups have been faced with great oppression, discrimination, forced poverty and degradation, with few avenues for learning or social rising. Parts—not all—of these groups respond by rejecting the values of education and by internalizing their oppressors' view of themselves to an extent. (Malcolm X frequently spoke about this.) This has been true, not only of a layer of African-Americans but also of some Italian-Americans and white Appalachians.

Of course this does not prove that these groups are biologically inferior in intellectual ability. Nor does it show that they are "culturally deprived." Along with weaknesses, their cultures also have great strengths. Every group—ethnic, racial, or class—has strengths and weaknesses.

Every group's culture is terribly distorted compared to the truly human culture that a free society may someday develop.

That *The Bell Curve* and other such trash could be widely publicized and discussed means something politically—beyond their insignificance as science. Far-right ideas have become respectable and can be treated as part of the public dialogue by the mainstream capitalist press. Fascism is definitely not on the agenda yet, but the population is being familiarized with the basic "ideas" of fascism. We have to do our best to attack these ideas and to familiarize people with the ideas of freedom. ★



Eleven hours after it was erected in the Cincinnati downtown square on Dec. 17, '94, protesters pulled down a KKK cross. Six people were arrested and the cross was put back up.

Minneapolis Anti-Racist Action

BY MICHAEL CORBIN

Rumors of its demise having been greatly exaggerated, a new Minneapolis Anti-Racist Action has formed and become an important force for political agitation and organizing in the Twin Cities. In part because of the absence in general of much action-oriented political activity, and because of the continuing relevance of its anti-racist, anti-fascist message, the re-emergence of Minneapolis ARA is a hopeful and instructive sign in these repressive, post-left times.

SMALL STEPS AND GUERRILLA ACTIVITY

Minneapolis ARA has adopted four main areas of activity: the confrontation of specific white supremacist individuals and organizations; protest, propaganda and agitation at specific sites of institutionalized racism; a "cop watch" and anti-cop organizing campaign; and, finally, a program of internal education. Any of these by themselves, of course, could dominate the group's time and resources; yet, by pragmatically mobilizing activists into each of these areas, two goals are accomplished.

First, with humble expectations, in each area we can effect immediate changes and accomplish limited, but important, tactical victories. And secondly, building on these limited victories, each area has the potential to be a site of larger-scale organizing.

Confronting white supremacists, neo-nazi or otherwise, has, of course, been a major focus of ARAs here and elsewhere. While activists grow weary of analyzing the more overt powers that be, it's easy to miss the on-going hard-core, grass-roots organizing of nazis, eugenicists, racist "militias," Christian Identity, survivalists, etc. Confronting these organized white supremacists continues to be an important component in any larger revolutionary strategy. In Minnesota the signs too are ominous, and our anti-fascist work has two specific areas of focus. First, is the racist music scene, both the more mainstream metal bands and the overt fascist bullshit of groups on the Resistance label, like Bound for Glory. The second and related area of focus is the white-supremacist organizing that is going on in several of the Twin Cities' outer-ring suburbs. On this latter front, we hope that ARA can begin to work as a mobile force both in the urban space of

Minneapolis and St. Paul, and also in that growing edge-city, exurban world where the right and the whites have their important and growing bases of power.

ARA's work against institutionalized racism has mostly taken the form of being a militant affinity group in some of the larger on-going struggles. For example, an important fight being waged right now is against the racist local utility, Northern States Power (NSP), and its plan to store its nuke waste next to a Sioux reservation in the Mississippi river flood plain. ARA has turned out an autonomous, militant crew to several large demonstrations, providing important tactical support for taking streets, closing roads, general fucking with the cops and the hired thugs of NSP, and propagandizing the importance of race to the more mainstream environmental demonstrators. While having significant limitations, this kind of activism still has a place in using more traditional symbolic demonstrations as sites of tactical possibility.

The Minneapolis ARA cop watch, like the other two areas, has a two-pronged approach. Bi-weekly, a crew has gone out to an area highly militarized by the cops and, not coincidentally, a place where a lot

of non-white youth hang out. By being on the scene at traffic stops, pat-downs, curfew round-ups, and bullshit harassments, we hope to be, and have been, in a position to intervene on behalf of anyone being fucked with. It's also empowering to go out and directly intimidate cops and their colonizing. But more than this, we hope to use the cop watch as an organizing tool to tap and direct the anti-cop sentiment on the street, to propagandize an anti-cop and anti-racist cultural possibility.

LEFT OUT, LEFT OVER, LOOKING AHEAD

Minneapolis ARA can be seen as an instructive example of what can and perhaps should be done by way of militant political organizing. We have, of course, much to do. However, less in common with the more programmatic left, anarchist and otherwise, and more in common with the energy coming out the politics of identity of the last 15 years, Minneapolis ARA represents the kind of ideologically inchoate politics of the present. Growing out of a specific youth scene, with its emphasis on a self-conscious political identity and style, as well as its theoretical presupposition that race is a fundamental organizing principle of a society that needs to be torn down, the new Minneapolis ARA has evolved toward a broader vision of revolutionary possibilities.★



ARA Toronto—Still Kickin' It in '95

Anti-Fascist Stabbed in Toronto

This past summer saw the number-two man in the fascist Heritage Front, Grant Bristow, exposed as an agent of the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS). This revelation further weakened the Front, already facing heat from the cops, and almost two years of determined resistance from Anti-Racist Action (ARA) and others.

But the splintering of the Heritage Front doesn't mean the end of anti-fascist work in Toronto. The Front had been trying for a more-or-less respectable "equal rights for whites" image by leafletting high-schools, advertising meetings and gigs, and publishing a slick (gag me!) magazine. As they have been discredited and pushed back, the most violence-prone boneheads are adopting an underground strategy. The results: physical attacks on folks with the International Socialists, a bashing in the heart of Toronto's gay neighborhood, and an assault on a South Asian high-school teacher a week after he and other teachers of color received racist threats.

ARA is always changing, obviously, always looking for ways to take action against the more underground nazis. One target we've chosen is a pair of trendy fashion stores called IXL, owned by long-term nazis Roderik and Alaric Jackson. Alaric in particular has played a visible

role in the fascist bonehead movement in Montréal and Toronto. He has links to Resistance Records [see last issue of *Love and Rage*], a new, racist, rock label based in Detroit, and used one of the stores as the rendezvous point for 30+ boneheads on their way to a Northern Hammerskin gig last April. On the surface, though, the Jacksons play it cool and even sell mod gear over the counter. A lot of queers, people of color, Jewish people, and others who have no interest in supporting fascists end up buying boots there.

So ARA figured that by exposing these stores to the wider community, we can fuck up a small but important piece of bonehead territory. As *L&R* reported two issues ago, we put together a couple of surprise pickets in front of the stores in the late summer. They had the intended effect of drawing out some bonehead security and a lot of attention, but got no media coverage. Then we hit them on Dec. 10, an important X-mas shopping day, with a bigger, publicly advertised picket. It was a real spectacle, with media everywhere and riot cops guarding the place most of the day. Roderik whined to the press that the day was a "total disaster," that nobody bought anything, so we achieved all our goals. While nobody thinks that we can shut down the stores simply by leafletting and picketing,

we know that it drives them crazy and sure cuts into their profits!

Because of the public exposure and community boycott, the nazi owners of the "Reckless" store have closed down the Queen Street location since the third week of January. It was the result of a successful campaign, as well as exerting pressure and opposition to their business premises on various levels. ARA consider this a partial victory, and the campaign to shut down the other IXL on Yonge Street is entering a new phase.

Anti-fascist work may not be as hip as it was when ARA Toronto got together two years ago, but the group continues to expose, oppose, and confront white-supremacist organizing here. Most important now are creative ideas for dealing with the underground bones and the increasingly racist mainstream. Also, if anyone has info to share about the Northern Hammerskins or Aryan Nations (especially their Pennsylvania compound), please send it to:

ARA Toronto
PO Box 664
Station C
Toronto, ON
M5J 3C1

or call:

(416) 631-8835

Early on Feb. 4 a fight took place between anti-racists and neo-nazi boneheads, apparently starting in a downtown bar and ending at an east-end subway station. It is unknown how many people participated on each side, but the media reports say that there were three neo-nazis and 10-12 anti-racists. In any case, two were hospitalized: an anti-racist received near-fatal knife wounds to the neck and stomach, while a bonehead received head injuries from a heavy object. Charges have been laid against two boneheads: Adrian Kaddie of Weir Crescent in Scarborough for attempted murder, and Kristian Brandes of West Hill for aggravated assault and weapons charges. To date, (Feb. 7) no charges against anti-racists have been laid.

This event was treated by Toronto police and media as an ARA attack. ARA has given no public statement to date, but the young man who survived the near-fatal stabbing is certainly a friend to many in the anti-racist and punk communities, a talented artist and all-round cool guy with a keen interest in prison struggles, native solidarity work and homeless/street organizing with Food Not Bombs.

Contact ARA Toronto (address to left) for more information.★

Mumia Supporters Descend on Harrisburg

Over a thousand demonstrators descended on Harrisburg, Penn. on Tuesday Jan. 17, 1995 during the inauguration of Republican Tom Ridge as governor. Chanting "Free Mumia" and "No Justice, No Peace," the demonstration made its way to city hall near the governors' platform. Coming from New York, New Jersey, Chicago, Washington, DC, Chicago, as well as Canada, the enraged demonstrators assured an unpleasant day for the governor, who ran on a law and order platform stressing his desire to sign death warrants when elected.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an award-winning journalist and political activist, who was convicted of the murder of a Philadelphia cop on Dec. 9, 1981. The facts of Mumia's trial have been well documented elsewhere. The Judge, Albert Sabo, has sentenced more people to death than any other sitting judge. Jamal was denied the right to represent himself or have an attorney of his choice. All Blacks, except two were excluded from the jury, in a city which is over 40% Black. Critical evidence that demonstrated Jamal's innocence was suppressed. Mumia Abu-Jamal was convicted and sentenced to death because of his membership in the Black Panther Party in the 1960s. Further evidence of this is the Penn. Supreme Court's affirmation of Mumia's death sentence and the US Supreme Court's refusal to hear Jamal's appeals, which emphasized his membership in the Party.

The legal lynching of Mumia must be stopped. Every time Mumia has had a chance to speak on his charges and the powers of the state he has been silenced. After announcing plans to air a series of commentaries by Jamal, National Public Radio (NPR) caved in to pressure by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of the Police, canceling the broadcasts. Senate Republican Leader and 1996 Presidential hopeful Bob Dole threatened to cut off NPR's funding.

The Penn. Department of Corrections transferred Mumia to its super maximum security prison on Jan. 13. This super-max is not only further away from Mumia's supporters, it tightens the conditions of his lockdown. Further, Waynesburg is a hotbed of neo-nazi and Klan activity.

Fight to free Mumia!
Mumia's new address is:

Mumia Abu-Jamal, # AM-8335
SCI Greene
1040 East Roy Furman Highway
Waynesburg, PA, 15370

Write:

Governor Tom Ridge
Main Capital Bldg., RM 225
Harrisburg, PA 17120
(717) 783-1198
Fax (717) 783-1396 or (717) 787-7859



Jan. 17 in Harrisburg

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Metal Detector Madness!

Anti-Fascist Defense Committee Update

BY JUSTINE ABINNI

You never know what you're gonna have to do next to support an anti-racist comrade. This time in Minneapolis we took off our steel toes and studded belts. With baggy pants crashing to the floor and squirmy feet peeking out of socks with holes we still stood proud and strong as anti-racists and impassioned supporters of Kieran Frazier Knutson.

Over a year ago Kieran was charged with felonies for defending himself and others from a nazi skinhead who attacked an anti-racist demonstration on the University of Minnesota campus.

Because we turned up the heat, they turned loose their goons. On Monday, Jan. 30, Hennepin County Government Center security—with serious attitude problems—sent Kieran's family, friends, and supporters through metal detectors, a rare phenomenon in Minnesota courts, as well as searched our belongings, only for the judge to rule that the trial would be delayed again, for the sixth time in over a year. Metal detectors have been used in Hennepin County only in high-profile cases in which the state wants to cultivate the idea that the defendants and their supporters are dangerous. Of course they do this knowing that the jury becomes biased in the prosecution's favor. The next court date is set for Mar. 9.

Well, HELLO!, we may be beltless, but we're not stupid! We believe that the pumped-up security was in response to a lively demonstration and angry visit to County Attorney Mike Freeman's office that occurred on Friday, Jan. 27 at the government center. About 75 people attended a demo with speakers from Hotel Workers Local 17, Frente del Norte, Jewish Activist Minyan, Anarchist Black Cross, The Blast!, Twin Cities Coalition to Defend Mumia Abu-Jamal, CISPEs, Refuse and Resist, The Welfare Rights Committee, Up and Out of Poverty, Anti-Racist Action, and the Love and Rage Federation. But this time we didn't just speak, chant and wave banners. In order to show Mike Freeman, Pete Connors, and the whole crew up in the Hennepin County Attorney's office that we are still furious about the state's prosecution of Kieran, the demonstration paid their office a visit. Our demands were: (1) drop the charges; (2) stop harassing anti-racist activists; and (3) stop forcing the press to collect evidence for state prosecutors. About 40 of us occupied the lobby to Freeman's office

for an hour. As a result Mike Freeman, an "elected official!", was forced to meet with us, and although he had supposedly "gone home for the day," he miraculously reappeared for a meeting with three members of the Anti-Fascist Defense Committee two hours after our mass presence in his office.

Our meeting with Mike Freeman was less than satisfying, and after a year of waiting for some response from his office, after hundreds of letters from all over the world and phone calls up the wazoo, we were not surprised. Of course we know that politicians get to hide behind all kinds of formalities so they don't have to answer our questions, but we're gonna bug 'em anyway 'cause they deserve it! In any case, the county attorney's office couldn't answer our questions. They couldn't tell us if and how they proceeded with investigating the felony charges filed by the police against Kieran. They couldn't disclose whether they bothered to investigate the context of the incident from which Kieran's charges stem. And of course they couldn't acknowledge that they did not pursue an investigation into the evidence that proves that Daniel Simmer is a known nazi. When I talked with a law clerk in Freeman's office, she didn't seem to know that Daniel Simmer's affiliation with organized nazi groups was even an issue. When asked why charges against the nazi were dropped right away, Freeman quickly responded that it is the city attorney's job to handle misdemeanors. The county attorney's office would have us believe that all of their decisions pertaining to this case are purely technical, and that the prosecution could not be motivated by political bias. WE MADE IT CLEAR TO HIM THAT THE ONLY JUSTICE FOR KIERAN AND THE LOCAL ANTI-RACIST MOVEMENT WILL BE AN ACQUITTAL, AND THAT IN A TRULY FREE SOCIETY ANTI-RACISTS WOULD BE PROTECTED FROM NAZIS!

We still need your support. Write:
Anti-Fascist Defense Committee
POB 7075
Mpls., MN 55407

email: jolson@polisci.umn.edu
Mike Freeman's office is still available for nagging. Demand the charges be dropped and ask him why they needed metal detectors at the last court date. Write:

Mike Freeman
County Attorney
C2000 Hennepin County Govt. Center
Minneapolis, MN 55415
Or call him at: (612) 348-5550

Freedom for Kawana Ashley and Reproductive Freedom for All Women

Kawana Ashley is a 19 year old woman who found herself with an unwanted pregnancy. She had a 3-month-old child and was afraid her grandmother, who Ms. Ashley lives with, would be reluctant to accept another child. Her boyfriend promised to get money for Ms. Ashley's abortion, but he never came through. After Ms. Ashley raised a good bit of the money herself, she found it wasn't enough. The St. Petersburg area clinic she went to wanted \$1300 to \$1800 for the procedure. Ms. Ashley didn't have that much. With no support from her boyfriend and in a desperate situation, Ms. Ashley shot herself in the abdomen in an attempt to abort.

At the hospital where she was treated, the fetus was delivered by C-section and died shortly afterwards due to undeveloped kidneys. Ms. Ashley's condition was never reported in the media reports, but a member of her defense team says that she is doing well now.

Five months after this event, Ms. Ashley was charged with second degree murder and manslaughter. The murder charge is due to the "illegal nature of the abortion" and the manslaughter charges stem from a Florida law which says that a fetus able to survive outside of the uterus is a person.

The charges against Kawana Ashley are absurd and must be dropped. Her case highlights the recent Supreme Court rulings and cutoffs to Medicaid.

The prosecutor wants to send a message by attempting to jail Ms. Ashley—that women's sexuality is bad and must be controlled by men. Florida is one of the 44 states that doesn't provide Medicaid funding for abortion. Florida is also the site of two assassinations of abortion providers and a clinic escort. The prosecution is in effect punishing Ms. Ashley for her desperate actions that were created by the state of Florida.

Write the prosecutor and demand the charges against Kawana Ashley be dropped!

Prosecutor Bernie McCabe
PO Box 5028
Clearwater, FL 34618

Letters of support to Kawana can be sent via her attorney:

Kawana Ashley
c/o Bruce Johnson Ste. B-100
5100 144th St. N.
Clearwater, FL 34620

For updates on her trial contact:
BACORR
750 La Playa, #730
San Francisco, CA. 94121
(415) 252-0750

Anarchist Black Cross and Other Prisoner Support/Prison Abolition Groups

ABC Baltimore
POB 19245
Baltimore, MD 21213

ABC Minneapolis
POB 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407

Brew City Anti-Authoritarian Collective
POB 93312
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Brooklyn ABC
POB 365
Canal St. Station
New York, NY 10013

Committee Seeking Equal
Justice for the Minnesota Eight
POB 40355

St. Paul, MN 55104

Love And Rage Prison Abolition Working Group
POB 77432
Washington, DC 20013
email: ms272c@gwuvm.gwu.edu
(202) 728-3899

Nightcrawlers ABC
POB 1034
Mott Haven Station
Bronx, NY 10454

Paterson Anarchist Collective/NJ ABC
POB 8532
Paterson, NJ 07508

Winnipeg Prisoner Survival Network
POB 770, Stn. P
Toronto, Ont. M5W 1W4

Justice for Marshall Eddie Conway!

BY THE MARSHALL EDDIE CONWAY
SUPPORT COMMITTEE & ABC-BALTIMORE

Marshall Eddie Conway was arrested 24 years ago and charged with the fatal shooting of a Baltimore city policeman and the attempted murder of two others. He was the leading member of the Baltimore chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP). Like many Blacks he joined the party seeking a vehicle to end the sustained oppression of Black people. Such people were frustrated by the limited success of the civil rights movement, the assassinations of Malcolm X, and then Martin Luther King, Jr. They united to actively change the "system" by any means necessary.

The US government, which they viewed as racist and oppressive, naturally saw their activism as subversive. The government's response was swift and decisive—covert operations, mounted with the intent of destroying the Panthers and all Black activists.

Eddie insists his arrest was the result of covert operations. He has steadfastly maintained his innocence in the belief that he was singled out for punishment because of his leadership in exposing police agents within the Baltimore chapter. His theory is supported by the extraordinary tactics used by the state to convict him. The case against Eddie relied entirely on testimonies of a paid jailhouse informer and a police officer. There is no physical evidence linking Eddie to the shooting, and there are no other witnesses. The informer, an experienced operative whom the police placed in Eddie's cell (over his objections), claimed Eddie had confessed to him. The officer testified that he was shot at by Eddie several blocks from where the officer mentioned above was killed. The officer identified Eddie as his assailant only after examining two different photographs. Eddie's photo was the only one appearing in both stacks.

The state's weak case against Eddie could easily have been exposed if the Baltimore BPP chapter had not been struggling for its survival. Eddie's defense was organized when the resources of the chapter were nearly exhausted by other costly and complex trials. No less than 21 members, former members, and community workers were either prisoners or fugitives at the time of Eddie's arrest. Always few in number, the Panthers were overwhelmed by their legal predicament. Of course, this too was part of the plan to neutralize them. It was an effective

plan, used nationwide. The Panthers found themselves in constant need of lawyers, yet few lawyers were willing to work on Panther cases, especially when their dire financial condition was discovered.

Consequently, Eddie went to trial with scant financial resources and no legal defense team. Against his wishes he was represented by a court-appointed attorney, whom he met only briefly: once in the city jail, and once as he was entering the courtroom for his trial. When Eddie sought to have his lawyer removed from the case, the judge decided that a court-appointed attorney was in Eddie's best interest.

Eddie in turn demanded that the court appoint Arthur Turco, a New York lawyer and Panther supporter, as his attorney. Turco at the time was Eddie's cellmate, having been arrested for his support of the Panthers. When refused, Eddie asked to represent himself, a request that was approved on the condition that a court-appointed attorney advise him at the defense table. As the case proceeded, however, it became clear that the judge did not intend for Eddie to defend himself. He expected Eddie to sit passively at the defense. In protest, Eddie refused to attend his trial, returning only to renew his objections to court-appointed representation. Handicapped by inadequate legal representation, Eddie was predictably convicted in what is still remembered as one of Baltimore's most publicized cases.

Although some post-conviction work has already been done on Eddie's case, his support group was never able to build and sustain the mass of needed legal and financial support. In the several years it took to move Eddie's case to the appellate level, a pro bono team of lawyers pointed to the unconstitutionality of several judicial decisions in Eddie's trial. For example, lawyers contend that Eddie received "hybrid" representation, the result of the judge authorizing Eddie's self-defense, while at the same time permitting court-appointed representation. As such, Eddie had no clear representation, a situation found unconstitutional in other cases. Nevertheless the Maryland courts turned down Eddie's appeal.

For his part, Eddie has remained strong, providing leadership to inmate councils and coordinating meaningful programs for other inmates. He avidly conducts legal research to aid his own and others' defense. While incarcerated Eddie has: earned a BS

in social science from Coppin State College; earned an AA in education and an AA in management science from the Essex Community College of Baltimore; organized literary and other events for fellow inmates; become proficient in computer graphics and founded a computer literacy program for inmates.

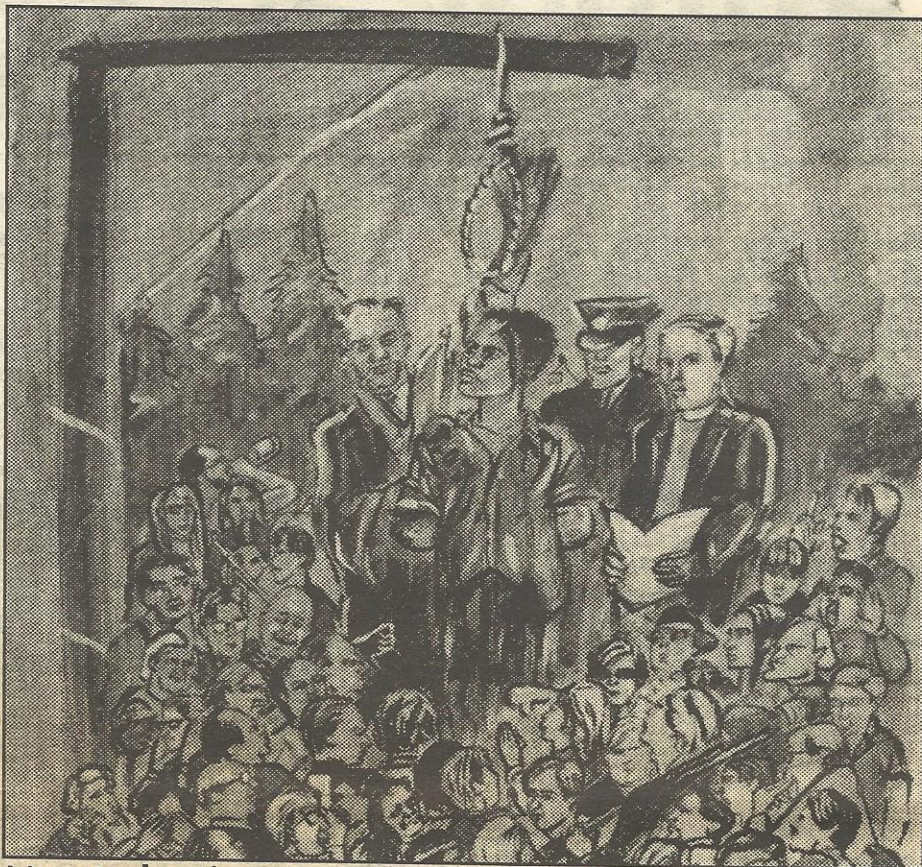
For the present, Eddie's support group is focusing on efforts for Eddie's next parole hearing. We hope this hearing will yield a positive vote to allow Eddie to make parole. At his 1990 parole hearing, the parole board cited Eddie's excellent record and recommended he continue to progress through the system. They instructed him to appear again in three years. In July 1993 the scheduled hearing was postponed for one year because the work-release program was suspended for life-termers.

For more information and to assist in Eddie's case, get in touch with one of addresses below. Please send letters requesting Eddie's parole to the parole board (copies to the support committee and ABC-Baltimore).

W. Paul Coates
Marshall Eddie Conway Support Committee
3000 Huntington Ave.
Baltimore, MD 21211

Paul Davis
Maryland Parole Commission
6776 Reisterstown Rd. Suite 307
Baltimore, MD 21215

Marshall Eddie Conway
#116-469
PO Box 534
Jessup, MD 20794



Now Is the Time to Act to Save the Life of Zion Yisrayah

BY BCAC

Ajamu Nassor (s/n Gregory Resnover) was brutally murdered by the state of Indiana on Dec. 8, 1994. If we do not act now Zion Yisrayah (s/n Tommie Smith) will be brutally murdered as well.

On Dec. 11, 1980 a pre-dawn raid on the home of Zion and Ajamu left one man wounded and one dead. The wounded man was Zion, who, along with Ajamu, was politically active and had a history of exchanges with the local police because of their stand against social injustices perpetrated against Blacks. The dead man was a white police officer who had participated in the raid.

It was determined at the time that the police officer had been shot in the back, and that the bullet that killed him did not come from one of the two guns within the house, which were fired in self-defense. Until he was shot, the officer had been facing the defendants. Clearly he was killed by someone behind him, and only the police were in that position. The men and women in the house were asleep when the police kicked in their door, threw tear gas inside—setting the couch in the corner of the front room on fire—Rambo-ing and Waco-ing their way in, indiscriminately firing on anything inside with the obvious intent to kill.

A NO-KNOCK-MURDER-PLAN THAT FAILED

Due to legal incompetence, collusion, or any of the other shenanigans to which poor, Black defendants are subjected to in court with state-assigned public defenders misrepresenting them, Zion and Ajamu were condemned to be executed. The evidence that would have absolved them was either suppressed, ignored, or overlooked by the parties bent on malice and wrongful revenge. This whole event was clearly a police cover-up. The evidence that was presented at their appeals trials was ruled inadmissible, since, under Indiana law, any evidence which was obtainable by using "due diligence" before the original trial cannot be used at a later date. The courts cared less that two innocent men were being railroaded and sent to the electric chair. These men had one "public offender" who was an alcoholic, and

an appeals lawyer who never even bothered to go to meet her client. Necessary willing witnesses were not called to testify, lies were made and accepted in the court room, the holes in the prosecution's case were never questioned. The court, by following its letter-of-the-law rules in the technical aspects of the case, overrode the consciences and moral duty of the people who had administered the death...A horrifying, barbaric death blow yielded in the most possible bloodthirsty way through execution...by a cold blooded system which now has the blood of an innocent man on its hands.

"DAMU KTIKA JICHO LANGU."

Many individuals and organizations waited until the last minute to try to save the life of Ajamu Nassor, but the Human Rights Coalition of Indiana, based in South Bend, along with some others, have been fighting for the lives of Ajamu and Zion for many years—And the fight continues!!! Now (SaSa) is the time to act to save the life of Zion Yisrayah (s/n Tommie Smith). This is the legacy Ajamu left to all of us...and it must be done now!!

Send donations for legal fees to:
Human Rights Coalition of Indiana
508 E. Corby Blvd.
South Bend, IN 46617
Make checks out to the director:
V. Burns HRC of Ind.

Recruit comrades, family, friends and associates to write letters to Governor Bayh and demand that he exercise his authority to provide Zion with a new trial, so the evidence that will exonerate him can be introduced and accepted. Tell Governor Bayh he was responsible for the death of an innocent man. Tell him to stop the legal lynching now or to resign from office. Tell him to either use his power of clemency or forfeit it.

Governor Evan Bayh
Office of the Governor
The State House
Indianapolis, IN 46204
(317) 232-4567
Fax: (317) 232-3443

Support Puerto Rican Political Prisoners Held in the US

The US keeps 15 Puerto Rican political prisoners in its federal prisons. Almost all of them have already served 14 years. Their status as political prisoners is undeniable. They are in prison due to their struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico by all means necessary.

Yet the US refuses to accept that it holds political prisoners, and agencies such as Amnesty International refuse to engage in an international campaign to obtain their release.

It is up to us to obtain the liberation of our brothers and sisters held in US prisons. At this moment, there is a campaign in progress to ask President Clinton to grant an amnesty for all Puerto Rican political prisoners.

What you can do right now is write to the prisoners expressing your support, so that they know you are aware of their situation and that you will do what you can during 1995 to obtain their release.

If you want further information about Puerto Rican political prisoners, we can send you material. Please write to:

Latinos for Social Change (LACASA)
1151 Mass. Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02138
(617) 492-8699
srs@igc.apc.org

Names and addresses of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners as of December 1994:

Antonio Camacho-Negrón #03587-069
US Penitentiary Allenwood
White Deer, PA 17887

Edwin Cortes #92153-024
Unit 3J, PO Box 33
Terre Haute, IN 47808

Elizam Escobar #88969-024
FCI Colorado Two
PO Box 1500
El Reno, OK 73036

Ricardo Jiménez #88967-024 (A-2)
PO Box 1000
Lewistown, PA 17837

Oscar López-Rivera #87651-024
PO Box 1000
Marion, IL 62959

Adolfo Matos-Antongiorgi #88968-024
3901 Klein Blvd. (Unit J)
Lompoc, CA 93436

Dylcia Pagán #88971-024
5701 8th St., Camp Parks
Dublin, CA 94568

Alberto Rodríguez #92150-024 (B-3)
PO Box 1000
Lewistown, PA 17837

Ida-Luz Rodríguez #88973-024
5701 8th St., Camp Parks
Dublin, CA 94568

Alicia Rodríguez #N07157
PO Box 5007
Dwight, IL 60420

Luis Rosa #N02743
Box 711
Menard, IL 62259

Juan Segarra-Palmer #15357-077
USP Atlanta
601 McDonough Blvd. SE
Atlanta, GA 30315

Carlos-Alberto Torres #88976-024
PO Box 1000
Oxford, WI 53952

Alejandrina Torres #92152-024
FCI Danbury
Pembroke Sta.
Danbury, CT 06811

Carmen Valentín #88974-024
5701 8th St., Camp Parks
Dublin, CA 94568

Anarchism is in trouble. Despite the gradual growth and strengthening of the anarchist movement over the past 10 years—more newspapers, journals, bookstores, actions, etc.—we aren't really engaged in changing the society. This failure isn't caused simply because we aren't working hard enough, but because we are adrift ideologically. In fact we are working hard, but with very little idea of why we are doing what we are doing.

Contemporary anarchist politics seems to be based on a kind of loose pragmatism: forming a political organization seems like a good idea, opening a bookstore seems like a good idea, publishing newspapers and journals seems like a good idea. But our "good ideas" haven't matured into a course of action. To quote old what's-his-name, we are doing a lot, but with no real idea of what is to be done.

To be effective revolutionaries—to change the world—we need to believe that we are part of the revolution now. I think that we will only be able to believe this preposterous idea if we have developed a strategic vision of the process of revolution that begins today and continues into the new society.

to believe that they are capable of acting in matters that affect them that they become able to participate in the destruction of this society and the creation of a new one.

I think that there is one major obstacle to the actualization of subjectivity: authority.

AUTHORITY

All systems of thought that we think of as authoritarian have in common a reference, either explicit or implicit, back to some "higher power." This is most obvious in the case in which the reference is back to an actual, living God. However, this same kind of reference back to a higher power also underlies ideas that are ostensibly neutral—or even hostile—to the idea of a God.

For example, the idea of natural rights—that human beings have certain inalienable rights, such as to life and liberty—implies necessarily that there is some "higher" source that has deemed it so. If these "rights" cannot be taken away by humans, they cannot have been granted by humans.

mean, so the argument goes, that they don't exist—i.e. that they exist beyond, and despite, any human intention or act.

Secular authority—the authority of the state—and transcendental authority—god's authority—are different in name only. Both root themselves, either implicitly or explicitly, in transcendental, intentional authority. For example, that the preamble of the US Constitution cites our inalienable rights as having been conferred upon us by our creator is not simply a concession on the part of the founding fathers to the mythology of the day: they firmly believed that the authority of the new United States sprang from god's authority.

AUTHORITY AND SUBJECTIVITY

Subjectivity—the power to act for oneself and, perhaps more importantly, the belief in that power—is central to the revolutionary project. It is this actual and potential power to act that underlies both the possibility of destroying the inherited society and the possibility of creating one in which people act consciously on all matters that affect them.

Author and Authority

I think that the "revolutionary anarchist" section of the anarchist movement is the group most likely to develop such a strategic vision. I think that this rough revolutionary anarchist politics is fairly close to coalescing into a coherent, if not totally worked out, strategy. But I think that there are several barriers in the way, two of the most important being: our reliance on a loose and somewhat flimsy set of philosophical ideas to justify our politics, and a lack of a theory of the process of empowerment. In other words, we lack convincing arguments both about why people might throw off their chains, and about how they might do so. It is these two questions that I attempt to address in this article.

PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS

Politics is based on philosophy. For each idea we have about what is happening in the world, we have some idea about why we think it is happening. Our criticisms of this society, and our vision of a possible future society, are based on ideas about human nature, justice, morality, subjectivity, etc.

Clearly, if our ideas about these subjects are not correct, then our politics will not succeed: if people are really greedy, violent and selfish by nature, we will not be able to build a society based on mutual aid and cooperation. If we want to change the world, we cannot rely uncritically on our philosophical assumptions; we have to ruthlessly challenge and correct them. Equally important, we have to be able to argue for our ideas and defend them against attacks by people with other ideas.

The problem is, most of the most important philosophical ideas on which we base our politics are not provable. Is there a god? Who knows? Is there a determined human nature? How would we prove this one way of the other? Are there such things as justice and morality? Is there a knowable "reality," or is our concept of the real created by the fictions we use to explain things?

We can't answer these questions, but we also can't fall into the trap of inaction: that we cannot act because we cannot base our actions on anything because we cannot be sure of anything. It seems to me that our goal should not be to stop believing because we cannot prove the existence of the things we believe in, but to believe in a way that does not make us prisoners of our preconceptions. That is, I think we need to believe critically.

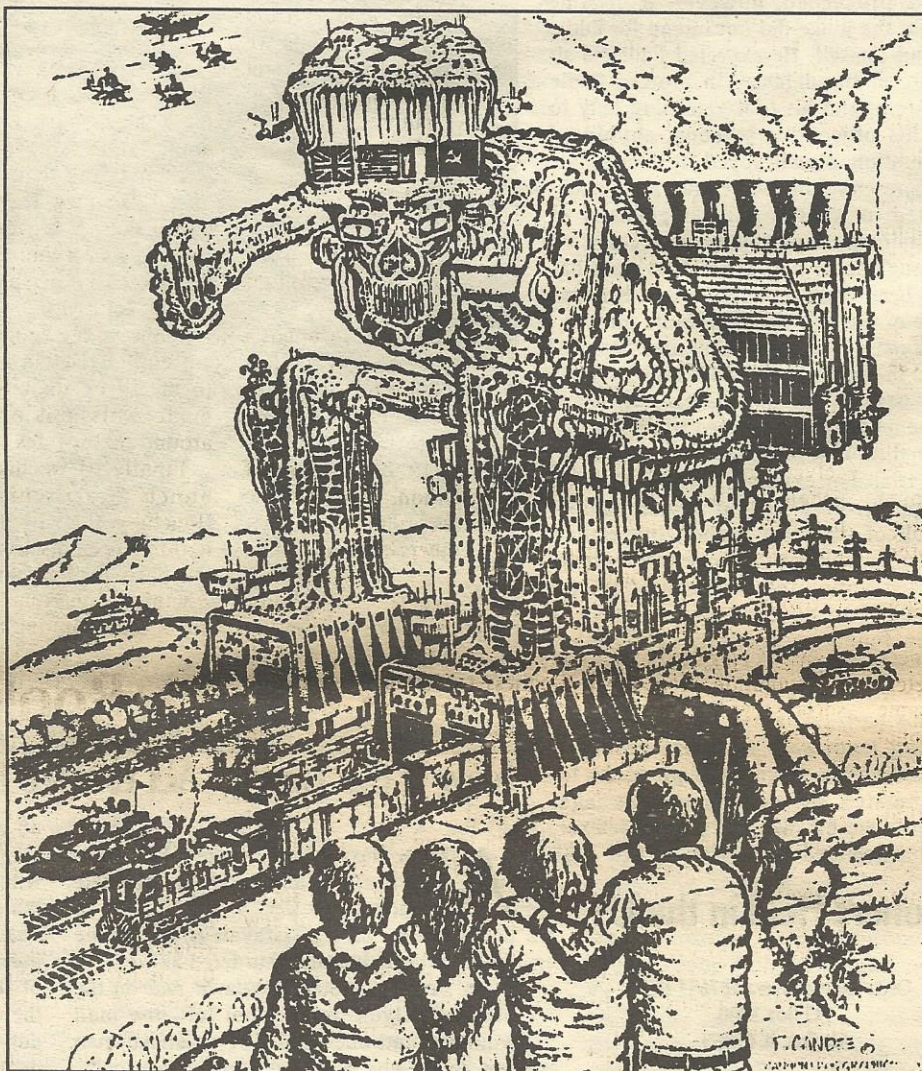
I'm not arguing that we should believe in any bullshit if it looks like it might allow us to destroy this society; just the opposite, I am arguing that what we believe and how we believe will determine whether or not we are able to build the new society out of the old.

SUBJECTIVITY

A necessary condition for making revolution is what I call the "actualization" of subjectivity. That is, unless people become convinced of their own power to evaluate the world around them, come to conclusions about taking action, and take effective action, it will not be possible to destroy this society and make a new one.

This happens two ways. First, the experience of living under new, directly democratic social conditions—through creating social movements and counter institutions. Second, through the conscious adoption of revolutionary politics and theory that advocate the creation of a society based on the full expression of subjectivity.

This actualization of subjectivity is essential to revolution. A body of revolutionary ideas without a belief in one's power to act is meaningless. It is only as people come



These various "higher powers"—god, nature, morality, natural right—can be grouped together under a general metaphor of "author." The author of any work is the conscious, intentional presence at its root. Thus any kind of "higher power"—either one named explicitly or one whose existence is implied—can be thought of as the "author" of systems of philosophy based on references back to this higher power.

The authors that are at the root of "authoritarian" systems of thought all share two features: transcendence and intentionality.

By transcendence I mean that the influence of the "authors" extends to all people, in all places, at all times, and is beyond human intention or control. For example, murder in our society is seen both as a crime and a sin. It is a crime because it is contrary to the laws humans have created. But, even in a society in which murder were not a crime—or if there were no longer any society to so define it—murder would still be a sin. Why? Because sin is a violation of God's law (or the murdered person's "natural right" to life), which is not bound by time, place, person or human intentionality: it is transcendental.

By intentionality I mean that it is through their acts of intention (authoring) that the authors affect human beings. For example, it is "wrong" to bear false witness because, effectively, God said so. Similarly, humans have a right to life, liberty, etc. not because of some law, or because of any social convention, but because the author intended it to be so, or so the ideas necessarily imply.

The converse is also true: ideas that are transcendental and intentional (or require intentionality) are authors or root themselves in an author.

For example, gravity is transcendental, but it is not intentional—it needs no one to intend its existence for it to exist. It may be argued that gravity exists because of some prior intention, but such an intention is not strictly necessary for gravity's existence.

However, the entire idea of rights is rooted in authority: rights are fundamental aspects of human existence, which may be abridged and ignored, but continue in their transcendent existence not because they are honored, but because they were intended to exist. Every "fundamental human right" may be denied to each of us, but that doesn't

BY MATT BLACK

A necessary condition for revolution is the desire and ability (belief) to act to change this society, despite the enormous pressure against such acts. A necessary condition for creating a new society is the desire to act and the belief that such acts could result in something new.

While subjectivity is necessary to revolution, it is not sufficient. People who fully believe in their power to act need to be able to conceive of actions worth taking. A mass of people whose subjectivity had been actualized would not automatically make the kind of revolution that we are interested in. They may well decide to form some other kind of society. It is only when people who are acting as subjects embrace anarchist politics and build a society based on those politics that we will have an anarchist society.

HOW AUTHORITY DESTROYS SUBJECTIVITY

The existence of and belief in authority is destructive to subjectivity in two main ways:

First, authoritarian societies seek to deny subjectivity—the only real threat to their continued existence—by perpetuating social conditions that prevent people from acting, and from developing a belief in their own capacity to act.

Second, belief in authority destroys subjectivity because it asserts that people are not truly free to act in all matters that concern them.

Many important areas of subjective activity are reserved for the author, and we are constantly told that we have no possibility of control over these aspects of our lives. Thus we can be free in many ways, but never totally: we may change the world, but not the moral structure of the universe. It will only be possible to both destroy this society and create a new one if the people involved in that process come to see themselves as able to exercise their conscious intentionality over all matters that affect them. The act of belief in the author destroys our ability to believe ourselves capable of making decisions solely on our own authority.

Even if it were possible to destroy the material conditions of oppression, we would not necessarily then be free. We participate in our own oppression by believing the core values of our oppressors: that transcendental authority exists and is valid. We need to destroy both the material conditions and the philosophical bases. We can't really do either unless we are doing both.

I would argue that, in fact, it is the process of re-creating our subjectivity that is "the revolution." The revolution starts long before even the first bureaucrat is hung with the guts of the first capitalist; the heart of the revolution is the on-going process of people actualizing their subjectivity.

ANARCHISM AND AUTHORITY

If we agree that the actualization of subjectivity is the central aim of a revolutionary movement, and that ideas rooted in transcendental authority are destructive to subjectivity, then clearly we must have politics that are anti-authoritarian. The problem, I argue, is that anarchist politics are not anti-authoritarian.

Anarchists have historically identified ourselves as opposed to all forms of authority—the state and its assertion of being authorized by the social contract; the heterosexual family and its assertion of being authorized by Nature; capital and its assertion of being authorized by human nature; God and his claim of being the transcendental author at the root of it all, etc. But, despite this rejection of concrete forms of authority, anarchists have consistently re-invested our politics with authority and implicit references to a transcendental, intentional author.

For example, anarchist politics makes constant reference to ideas such as rights (human and natural), justice (as a transcendental system of fairness), and morality (as a tran-

(Continued to page 13)

(Continued from page 12)

scendental system of right and wrong). All of these ideas, and many more, necessarily make implicit reference back to a transcendental author.

What the anarchist tradition rightly recognizes is that people need to run their own struggles; not just because of the tendency for leaders to become rulers, but because the struggle is fundamentally about running our own lives: the structure is the content. The anarchist tradition's rejection of leaders and the trappings of hierarchy and authority are not simply a "good idea," they are the beginnings of a fundamental break with authority.

But it is anarchism's implicit belief in authoritarian ideology that implicates and involves us in the project of authority. Thus, like the existing society, anarchism discourages the development of the subjectivity necessary for destroying this society and creating a new one. As it exists, anarchism has no hope of creating the society it claims to be fighting for. In order to be successful on its own terms, anarchism must abandon its reliance on ideas that are rooted in authority.

BEYOND ANARCHISM

To rid itself of ideas based in authority, anarchism would need to give up the following concepts: rights (human and natural); justice (as it refers to a transcendental arbitration of fairness; not as it refers to the creation of social contracts about acceptable behavior); morality (universal concepts of right and wrong, good and evil).

A politics without these ideas is not easy to conceive. It would need to abandon all claims to moral superiority (an anarchist society is fundamentally better than a non-anarchist society), rootedness in nature (an anarchist society is more natural), and rootedness in the moral structure of the universe (an anarchist society would ensure that human rights were protected, and is thus better/more desirable).

It seems to me that this change would not really affect the basic description of anarchism: a political philosophy that advocates the creation of a society in which people participate directly in making all the decisions that affect them, and in which social power is distributed evenly among the citizenry. What it would affect is the reasons why we are in favor of such a society. We would need to abandon all reasons that make claims to any authority other than our own.

HUMAN NATURE

A brief digression. One problem is that most traditional anarchist ideas could be maintained if we believed in a biologically determined human nature. Sadly, this is another argument for which there is no definitive answer.

I think that I have been able to show how belief in transcendental authority, the non-existence of which cannot be proven, is destructive to the psychological conditions necessary to make anarchist revolution. Reference to a determined human nature seems to me to have some of the same problems. Rather than relying on our conscious, intentional activity to justify our ideas and hopes, we are again seeking to ground our politics in something transcendental and beyond our control. In effect, we would be saying that, while we may be able to make a new society, the underlying force of that change is beyond our control. This, too, seems to me to be destructive to the process of developing an actualized subjectivity.

POSSIBLE SOURCES OF PERSONAL AUTHORITY

If we agree that we need to shed transcendental authority as the basis of our politics, and that we need to discover a

defensible source of personal (not just individual, but both individual and collective) authority, then we need to examine what the sources of such authority might be.

It seems to me that the only personal authority we can safely claim is desire: we wish to destroy this society and create a new one simply because we desire to live in that other society. We desire this individually and collectively, and we believe that there are other people who also desire it.

We cannot, for example, argue that we are fighting for an anarchist society because we "personally" think such a society would be right and good. Such an argument is only thinly disguised transcendental authority: we would really be saying that we are relying on our personal interpretation of authority, and rejecting that of the church and state. I think there are two problems with this. First, it is individualism, which I think is contrary to the collectivist project of building a new society. Second, it paradoxically removes from our hands the real power to make the very decisions we claim to be making. That we have the power to interpret transcendental authority is a very different claim than that we have the power to exercise our own authority; the first limits our subjectivity, the second expands it.

STRATEGY AND PRACTICE

I have some very basic ideas about a general model of the process of politicization and radicalization, and the role of revolutionaries in this process.

For a variety of reasons, a lot of people are in opposition to this society. These people do some or all of the following things, not necessarily "in order," nor necessarily at the same time: (1) remain in relatively isolated opposition, (2) cease to be in opposition—or cease to identify themselves as in opposition, (3) become part of a group of people in more or less organized opposition, or (4) become part of a group of people in more or less organized opposition, and move, with some other members of that group, into revolt against society.

Groups in revolt against society have several options: cease to be in revolt, returning to opposition or even ceasing to be in opposition at all; remain in revolt; move from revolt to revolution—from the willingness to disrupt the existing social order to being willing to build a new social order.

The process of the progression from opposition to revolt to revolution is a process of increasing subjectivity—the power to act, and the belief in one's power to act (and be effective)—along with a development of politics and ideas about what actions might be worth taking. The increase of subjectivity is the result of a dialectical interaction between the experience of living within a new set of social relations and developing ideas about the possibility of new social relations.

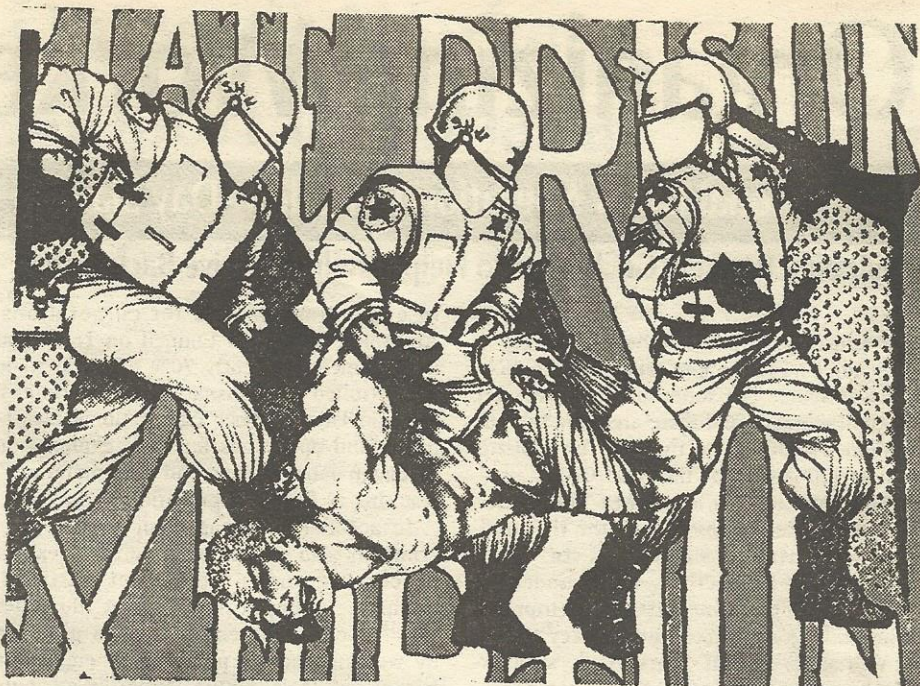
At all the stages of radicalization—developing an identity of being in opposition to the society; moving from opposition to revolt; and moving from revolt to revolution—self-conscious revolutionaries play a role. First, in identifying conditions and struggles that place people in opposition.

Second, by arguing for democratic structures within organized opposition or revolt, thus creating new social relations. And finally, by arguing for a broad analysis that identifies other similarly positioned groups, argues for building coalitions and new institutions with them, and for creating and believing in a vision of a different society.

If we accept that people who find themselves in opposition to the society are likely, through that experience, to be developing their critical interpretation of the world, their desire to act, and their belief in their capacity to act, then clearly we should attempt to relate to these people as likely revolutionaries. In particular, we should orient towards social movements as the most likely locations of these processes.

At the same time, we should be participating in the creation of new social institutions that both pose a threat to this society, and hold out the possibility of becoming the bases of a new society. By this I mean self-organized institutions of communities in revolt—free schools, liberated zones, worker-run shops, etc.

I'm not arguing that we are trying to create a society



in which everyone believes the same things. Just the opposite, I am arguing that subjectivity is developed as people participate in the various struggles that they find important: you can't make someone actualize their subjectivity.

CONCLUSION

None of my argument is especially new. Most of it has been covered in much greater depth by other people. Rather than trying to break new philosophical or theoretical ground, I am trying to show how I think these ideas fit together.

I am asking that we be consistent in ideas that we have already adopted. I try to carry that consistency to its logical conclusion. Not even that conclusion is new—it has been covered pretty thoroughly by the existentialists. What may be new is the perspective: the inconsistencies in our ideas may be fatal.

I am making some damning criticisms of anarchism as it currently exists. In following these criticisms to what seem to me to be their logical conclusions, I have no doubt made omissions and errors. I look forward to debate around these issues.

Finally, if we decide that we need to reject a whole bunch of anarchist theory, are we still anarchists? Hopefully, this article can provide a small starting point for both of those discussions: the project of finding a substantial basis for anarchist theory, and the project of deciding whether or not anarchism as a tradition/movement is capable of incorporating the conclusions it leads us to.★

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Organizing Workers Beyond Borders

International Labor Migration is Modern-Day Slavery

Philippine Workers Go Abroad to Help Families Survive Back Home

BY IRWIN OOSTINDIE

Contrary to popular belief, slavery is alive and well, and rampant on a global scale. The modern-day slaves are migrant workers, and there are more than 85 million. According to the UN, this statistic will be 100 million by the year 2000.

The year 2000 is also when Philippine's President Fidel Ramos expects the US-dominated country to succeed in its "Total Employment Productivity Plan" under the oppressive Philippines 2000 development scheme. Migrant workers are the key to this, as well as for the IMF-World Bank "structural adjustment program" in the Philippines.

The tide of workers leaving the Philippines is joined by workers leaving Thailand, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and elsewhere. Their destinations are construction jobs in the Middle East and the labor markets of Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, as well as North America and western Europe.

In many of these countries, these migrant "guest" workers are denied the most basic legal rights and protections. Those protections that are afforded to these workers are routinely ignored.

The result of this exploitation by the economically powerful countries is human slaves being shipped out with little or no rights or freedom. These international migrant workers serve as the labor commodity for economic production on a global scale.

POST-INDUSTRIAL COLONIALISM: THE PHILIPPINES

These international migrant workers, both women and men, are the modern counterpart of the transport of slaves from previous centuries. But one of the major differences is the function of these workers within the 1990s global economy.

The rapid expansion of technology in the industrialized economies, with computers, robotics, and biological engineering, has brought the world into a post-industrial era.

In a speech to a 1994 international gathering of migrant workers' advocates, held in the Philippines, advocate Antonio Tujan described these market forces. The globalization of capital is a result of the integration of dominating countries, with super-monopolies and giant trans-national conglomerates. This creates further exploitation of the Third World and former Soviet-bloc countries, through unbalanced trade, loans, and investment of the north's surplus capital and goods.

The US economy is continuing to shrink, with 50,000 jobs eliminated each month in 1993. There has also been minimal growth in Japan and Germany. This trend has fueled the formalizing of the new world order, with the conclusion of the 1994 Uruguay Round of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), and the establishment of the new World Trade Organization (WTO).

The creation of the NAFTA, AFTA (Asian Free Trade Agreement), and European Community trading blocs is the key strategy

to expanding markets for corporations. According to the UN Council on Trade and Development, currently 70% of world trade is controlled by transnational corporations. Antonio Tujan states, "Transnational investments and operations intensify exploitation of cheap labor power and raw materials," resulting in further degradation of the earth.

In addition to cheap labor export, governments also set up non-unionized "export processing zones" to attract business. Philippine writer Jeanne Frances Ilo states that "much of the cheap labor is provided by women who are preferred by employers because of their 'natural feminine attributes' of dexterity and attention to detail."

Schemes to exploit workers is spelled out by the IMF-World Bank structural adjustment programs (SAPs). Designed to hit poorer economies, they allow wealthy countries to maintain their power over the third world. SAPs force the repayment of loans and debt servicing, thereby disabling these fledgling economies from competing in the global economy effectively.

The provision of cheap labor for the industrialized countries is also carried out by IMF-World Bank tactics. By crippling weak economies, multinationals are guaranteed cheap access to natural resources, and a regular market for the export of industrialized countries' consumer goods.

Mario Santiago states, "Under the present economic system—the global economy that we have—these workers are nothing but commodities who sell their labor power. While they seem to have their rights and freedom to choose the country of destination and their role as employees, from the experience of the Philippines, it is not a question of choice—it is forced choice."

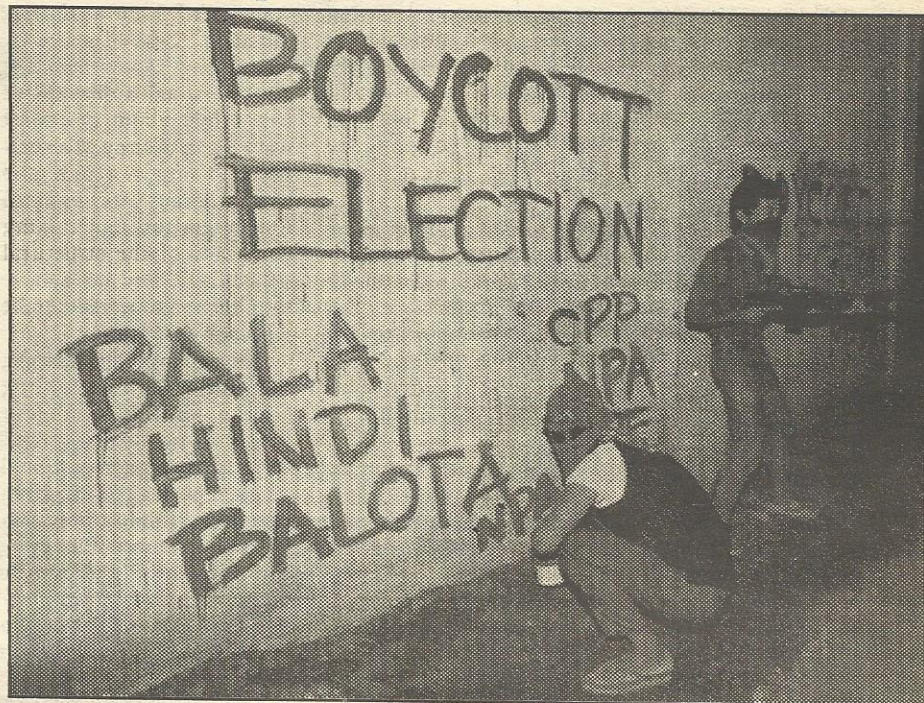
Santiago continues, "The economic problems at home, with too few jobs available, is the result of the intense crisis of a semi-feudal, semi-colonial society. There is little way for people to earn money to support their family, other than going abroad."

The Philippine government, subservient to the US and Japan, is doing little to solve the ongoing problems of the country, with 60% of Filipinos without electricity, 67% without clean water close by, and 1,500 children dying each day from pneumonia and diarrhea (Philippine government statistics).

The Philippine government policy to send its people away is accomplishing more than just the raising of funds to pay against international loans. Santiago states that, "By sending people abroad to work, they diffuse the potential for social explosion and solve the problem of unemployment."

The remittances (wages sent home) of migrant workers to the Philippines has become the largest source of foreign exchange for the government. This accomplishment comes as the US-sponsored Philippine army continues to spend millions of dollars fighting an ongoing civil war with the (Maoist) New People's Army, Moslem separatists, and rebel military (right-wing) forces.

According to government statistics, the remittance of \$2.53 billion in 1993 is



Philippine guerrillas calling for "Bullets Not Ballots."

already half of the foreign debt service of \$4.57 billion. Santiago adds that "This amount is far larger than the foreign exchanges earned by traditional exports such as copra, sugar, minerals, and electronic components." Former President Corazon Aquino helped establish migrant workers as the number one export of the Philippines today. She called them "the modern-day heroes of the Philippines."

Donasco sees these state fundraising practices as solidly integrated with national economic policies for the Philippines. "When you look at the reduction of employment and re-entrenchment in the country, without saying it, you are creating a massive unemployment." For the Philippine government, Donasco continues, "there are no solid or basic industries anymore to absorb these unemployed workers. The best way is to send them out. It is an immediate relief for the economic crisis."

Santiago adds his own tongue-twister to the conversation: "Countries in the north send loans to the south, and the workers go north to earn money which they send back to the south, which is used to pay back the north." The added interest charged by the lending banks is also part of the north's profit cycle.

In terms of the Philippine's own needs, Santiago states, "All these remittances that go back home are not invested in the industrial development of the country, but simply for consumption, and loan payment. And since most of the consumer goods are coming from the north, you have most of the money ending up in the pockets of multinationals, plus the big compradors in the Philippines who import all these products."

MODERN-DAY SLAVERY

Each host country provides its own framework for migrant workers. During the US war against Iraq, the presence of thousands of Filipino workers in the Middle East came to some of the world's attention. There are significant differences in the way migrant workers are treated in, for example, the US and Kuwait.

Donasco explains that with the approximately 1.5 million Filipinos in the Middle East, there isn't much difference with the US—both migrant workers are being paid cheaply without any prospect of long-term security of employment.

While most Filipinos in the US are legal immigrants, there are thousands of undocumented migrants working illegally in the US under terrible conditions. Filipino migrant workers started coming to the United States when the US colonized the Philippines in the end of the 19th century. The first batch of migrant workers found themselves in the plantations of Hawaii and the orchards of California. Ever since the United States has exploited the cheap labor of their colonies, as middle professionals, professionals, and undocumented workers were brought in.

In the Middle East, the typical role of migrant workers are as cheap laborers to help develop their economy. Santiago explains, "This is the type of work people in Kuwait would not want to do, such as con-

struction and maintenance work. As well, they are low on population and need a supply of workers from abroad."

Back in the 1970s, US-backed dictator Ferdinand Marcos aggressively promoted the export of labor to the Middle East, which was rich in petroleum dollars.

Since the '70s, the deployment of labor overseas has been increasing rapidly, with government figures showing more than half a million in 1993, and a record 364,000 just in the first quarter of 1994. According to research by MIGRANTE, a Filipino migrant worker advocacy organization, the official statistics do not take into account legal immigrants, students, tourists, and mail-order brides, who are disguised migrant labor.

MIGRANTE reports that official Philippine government statistics show 68% of migrant workers going to the Middle East, 25% to Asia, 2% to the Americas, and 2% to Europe.

Officially, there are 1.5 million Filipino overseas workers in the US, (not including Filipinos who seek employment as illegals once abroad), and 165,000 in Canada (which includes legal immigrants). More than 50,000 are live-in domestic workers.

In the mainstream, it is often said that Canada is a country with a progressive immigration policy, but in fact foreign domestic workers are not treated equally as Canadian workers are treated.

Canada is also a country that purports to respect human rights, but is not a signatory to the UN Convention for the Protection of the Rights and Welfare of Migrant Workers. Cecilia Donasco finds that for the Canadian government, "It is not an issue of human rights, it is only treated as domestic labor policies, either nationally or provincially."

When Filipinos go to work in the Middle East, they are basically contract workers with a limit to how long they stay and work. They have to renew their contract almost every year. In Canada, most workers come as immigrants and are therefore expected to become part of Canadian society. Even domestic workers could file for permanent residency after two years of work and eventually file for immigrant status.

Canada has begun to review its policy on migrant workers as a result of the trickle-down effects of the international crisis of global capitalism. Santiago states that the Canadian government "would like domestic workers to come in purely as contract workers, with little or no chance of becoming residents."

Donasco adds that, "while this is not yet an official policy of immigration, there is a reduction of domestic workers to be processed as permanent residents. I think they are going to do this with a quota and with a point system. So for domestic workers, they are below the passing mark because, first of all, they are not considered skilled workers."

In Japan, where it is not legal to hire unskilled workers, small Japanese businesses, such as construction companies, would rather get illegal or undocumented migrant workers for the cheap labor. Filipino men

(Continued to page 15)



Philippine domestic worker with the rich, white brat she cares for.

Labor Migration

(Continued from page 14)

also work in Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong Kong.

80% of male Filipinos in Japan work in this field, (approx. 125,000), and almost all are undocumented immigrants. 97% of Filipino women work as "entertainers," with 35% being undocumented. 378,000 workers left the Philippines for Japan in the first quarter of 1994 (Philippine government statistics).

Prior to the global economic recession in the mid-1980's, migrant workers leaving Asia were made up mostly of blue-collar workers and/or vocational graduates. Today in Canada the bulk of domestic helpers are former teachers and college graduates, and the majority of contract workers are licensed engineers and professionals.

"The government's mercenary policy has paid off," explains Antonio Tujan. "No matter the social costs and the (hardships) contract workers have to face to earn that precious dollar."

"First of all," states Tujan, "sending its trained labor force abroad...no country in its right mind would want to do." This phenomenon not only depletes the "human resources" of southern countries, but it also provides the north with well-trained workers in prime health.

THE TRADE IN WOMEN

Increasingly it is women who are forced abroad, resulting in the feminization of this trend. Now some 60% of these modern day slaves from the Philippines are women. Pressured to travel away from their home, their children, their culture, they work as entertainers, domestic workers and nurses.

Without their basic rights as workers, they are subject to repressive labor laws and marginalized in society. In Canada, for example, while forced to pay social security premiums and income tax, they are denied important legal rights and adequate social services.

Challenged by language barriers, cultural adaptation, and discrimination, migrant women face a double-edged sword. As domestic workers, they are subjected to: abusive live-in working conditions, often having passports confiscated; sexual abuse, harassment, and rape; under- or non-payment of wages; 50-80 hour work weeks—often with no overtime pay; and breach of contract.

In Manila, in Dec. 1994, the International Gathering of Filipino Migrant Women declared, that "a factor which has created a market for Filipino women as brides and entertainers overseas is the multi-million-dollar sex industry, which relies heavily on sex tourism. This pattern of massive Filipino female migration has created a situation where Filipino women have become known internationally as domestic helpers, entertainers, and mail-order brides. This has inevitably created an environment where they become even more vulnerable and exposed to violence, racism and trafficking."

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZING

Migrant workers are organizing internationally through various networks, including the Filipino organization MIGRANTE. By understanding better their situation, and gaining analysis, they are able to take action.

In the Philippines, for example, Donasco explains that the political atmosphere contributes to the organizing of migrant workers. "There are migrant workers who have been involved in the trade union movement in the Philippines. They have knowledge on how to organize workers, so when they go abroad, the tendency is to organize amongst themselves in order to survive."

Organizing in each country is a unique practice related to the level of oppression exercised by the host country. Some are a lot easier to organize than others. In the Middle East, countries like Saudi Arabia continue to deny the basic rights of workers to organize, stage strikes, and practice their religion. These are also the most notorious for human-rights violations.

"I know that from the experience of these organizers, they are very courageous and creative. They take a lot of risk in terms of their lives," declared Donasco.

Continuing, "I think Filipinos have a long history of resistance, and in the Philippines, it's no longer a secret that Americans were not our liberators, (first from the Spanish and then from the Japanese) but that they actually colonized and oppressed us. I think Filipino people are quite proud of the history of resistance against this force."

In North America or Europe, other Filipino immigrants help in the work of organizing. Santiago states how "they help raise their political understanding of their situation, including the political analysis of global migration and linking these to the economics of the structural adjustment programs."

The increasing phenomenon of migrant workers can be addressed at many levels. At the community level throughout North American cities by networking and providing support. Secondly, organizing in the sending countries, and thirdly, doing lobbying work at the international level. The ILO (International Labor Organization) of the UN has many processes engaged in the issue. Recently, migrant workers' issues were raised at international conferences such as the Rio Summit, the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, and the Conference on Population & Development.

When asked about the success, or lack thereof in outreach work in North American cities, Donasco replied, "I don't think domestic workers and farm workers are an isolated issue. In Canada, I think it is at the mainstream now. Even the women's movement, with the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, is having a campaign on domestic workers."

Donasco describes their commitment: "They identify the issue as an economic issue, women's work, they don't see it as a class issue. It is a gender issue, a class issue, and a race issue." Santiago adds, "Women of color are here as domestic workers so that the women of the north can join the work force outside of the home."

Donasco predicts that as the service sector increases, domestic workers will not just stay in the homes, but will move increasingly into public places. The more they clean shopping malls and office buildings, the more it will be identified as a labor issue, not just a women's issue.

"The other social movements have no choice, but to pick up the pieces and carry domestic workers' concerns. As women of color, if there were no barriers like racism, our struggle would speed up. But because of this number-one barrier, our struggle is not as fast as it could be."

In addition to the women's movement, many churches have supported the organizing work for an even greater length of time. In Hong Kong the churches financially support the work of organizing and providing services for migrant workers. In Canada, too, support comes from social justice committees of the churches.

"Eventually other movements, such as the trade unions, will support us, because...a division of labor is already being created. With skilled work gone, and available work limited to the service and unskilled sector, the face of racism will continue to rise, pitting workers against workers."

And about why the left movements have done limited organizing on international migrant workers, Santiago explains that "the ideological component is that domestic work is not considered part of the productive sector of society. (The traditional economy of the capitalist system.) For domestic workers, the work is in the home, and not in factories or other workplaces."

Santiago confirms that the decline in strength of socialist groups in North America may have also affected the consciousness of people who would otherwise be active allies.

"The current left would view the whole concept of foreign migration as secondary to their typical labor struggles here. In fact, some people just look at it as an extension of the problems of the south. These migrant workers, along with the cheap labor of the south, are taking away their jobs."

"People should look at where the weakest link of this global economy is. It is in the south, where the outflow of resources is much greater than the inflow. This global migration from the south to the centers of capital in the north is similar to those people in rural areas of North America who are forced by economic necessity to migrate to the cities because resources are flowing from rural areas to the urban areas."★

Domestic Workers Support in Canada

BY IRWIN OOSTINDIE

The phone is busy as I enter the Philippine Women Centre, in a rented house in the south-east end of Vancouver. "She doesn't know what to do, she's pregnant, and afraid of being kicked out of the country," exclaims the volunteer staffing the phone. Surrounded by desks, the smell of pancit being prepared in the kitchen, and a box of newsletters waiting to be mailed to contacts, this basement organizing room is active.

"They can't kick her out if she has her authorization papers," advises one of two paid workers at the Centre. "Just because she's pregnant, as long as she has the papers to be in Canada, she is safe until it runs out."

In Tagalog, the national Philippine language, the woman counseling on the phone is passing on possibilities of the woman getting married to the guy. "Don't do it," an assertive voice speaks up in the room. "It'll only bring more problems later, it's no solution."

I ask about the authorization papers. "You first get authorization to work in Canada, and then you need to find an employer or agency." My mind wanders to all of the horror stories I have read about the tens of thousands of Filipino workers who spend money to go abroad, and then find they've been scammed by the recruiting agencies. The support work that happens at the Centre is as varied as it is vital.

The live-in domestics in Canada come mostly from the Philippines and the Caribbean. The live-in requirement of Canada Immigration is designed to facilitate exploitation by the employers and minimize the independence of the woman. While official working hours are 44-53 hours/week, the actual numbers are closer to 70-80 every week. Average wages are \$175 (US)/week, with the worker left with about \$100 (US) after taxes and room and board charges.

Another financial burden affecting women leaving the Philippines, in search of earning a living to support their families, are the huge fees paid to the Philippine government, recruitment agencies, and air travel. Many migrant workers spend their first year's earnings just paying off the investment to get abroad.

Options for Filipino women are limited back at home. Carrying the double burden of raising a family and generating income to care for it, the Institute of Labor Studies (Philippines) reports that "a poor Filipino woman typically works from 14 to 18 hours a day. Women are farmers involved in rice, coconut, vegetable and sugarcane production. They predominate in the informal economy as washerwomen, itinerant vendors or traders." When working in wage jobs, they earn an average 35% of the already low salaries of men, the institute reports.

As migrant workers, Filipinas work in the service sector, especially domestic or house-work, considered to be in the "private sphere," and in the confines of the home. Maitet Ledesma, an organizer with the Commission for Filipino Migrant

Workers, offers this overall picture: "The withholding of wages, low pay, long working hours, menial and unskilled job categories, the lack of opportunities for meaningful career advancement and the lack of work benefits and job security, are only some of the problems. The trauma of having to work in jobs much lower to one's level of skill, experience and educational training, permanently scars the self-esteem, confidence and dignity of the women." In Canada, Filipino women come prepared with university degrees and college certificates before reaching immigration.

The situation for the hundreds of thousands of unauthorized women working without proper papers in Europe, North America, and Asia is especially grave and urgent. Ledesma points out that their illegal status forces them to continue to work under violent and slave-like conditions, without access to the legal justice system. If they do break free of their oppressor, the justice system criminalizes them for their status.

"As trafficked women, either recruited for illegal work; mediated by marriage bureaus as fiancées and brides of European or North American men; falsely recruited for prostitution and working as 'entertainers,' Filipinas have become fodder for a multi-million-dollar industry trading in women. They encounter violence at the hands of unscrupulous recruiters, partners and husbands and pimps who try to impose their power over them, by breaking their bodies and spirit," states Ledesma.

"Filipina migrants live in two worlds—with memories of their past, growing up and eventually leaving families behind in the Philippines, haunting them with overwhelming guilt, loneliness and isolation; and living their current realities in faraway lands, among peoples and cultures always interestingly different, sometimes strange, often hostile." Ledesma points out that migrants naturally look for and form close friendships and personal relations with compatriots. "This community provides them with emotional support they need to cope, and acts as a cushion to the obvious non-acceptance and social marginalization. Loneliness, withdrawal and isolation, and depression which has led to suicide in some cases," are common complaints among majority of the migrant women population.

Back in Vancouver, at the Philippine Women Centre, the woman on the phone hangs up and limps with a wounded ankle, the result of a fall in the home of her previous employer. While her doctor suggested a cast, her former employer harassed her to stay working. Not having paid the nominal W.C.B. fees required by law for worker's disability compensation, she is without immediate support. So this week, the Centre is also a shelter for a sister who would have been isolated in her live-in situation.

Now she is offering her own support to other women on the phone, while helping with educational and social events on the weekends. Many women leave their live-in situations for a day on the weekend and use the Centre as a meeting place to be with others.★



The Lessons of the Bandung Conference

Reviewing Richard Wright's *The Color Curtain* 40 Years Later



Kwame Nkrumah

BY MATTHEW QUEST

"The despised, the insulted, the hurt, the dispossessed—in short, the underdogs of the human race were meeting. Here were class and racial and religious consciousness on a global scale. Who had thought of organizing such a meeting? And what had these nations in common? Nothing, it seemed to me, but what their past relationship to the Western world had made them feel. This meeting of the rejected was in itself a kind of judgment upon the Western world!"

—Richard Wright

Richard Wright's *The Color Curtain* [University Press of Mississippi, 1994], originally published in 1956, chronicles the Bandung Conference of April 18-25, 1955. The gathering of leaders of 29 African and Asian nations considered how they could help one another in achieving social and economic well-being for their large and impoverished populations. Their agenda addressed race, religion, colonialism, national sovereignty, and the promotion of world peace. Despite the pragmatic premise for such a meeting, it would take on monumental importance for the shaping of future Cold War and identity politics, bearing important lessons for political struggle today.

Bandung was sponsored by the Asian nationalist leadership of Indonesia, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Burma (now Myanmar), and the Philippines. The foremost figure of these nations was Ahmed Sukarno, president of Indonesia, who from Wright's description clearly ruled over a police state, however strident his anti-imperialist rhetoric. The prominent personalities were Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India, Kwame Nkrumah, prime minister of the Gold Coast (later Ghana), Gamal Abdel Nasser, president of Egypt, Chou En Lai, premier of China, Ho Chi Minh, prime minister of Vietnam, and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem, USA. Lesser-known representatives of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon, Syria, Japan, the Philippines and others would make interesting contributions.

The strategy of militant Afro-Asian states was to strengthen their independence from Western imperialism while keeping the Soviet bloc at a comfortable distance. This strategic bloc, which was supposed to be independent from the superpowers, was the beginning of what came to be known as the "non-aligned" movement and the "Third World."

NON-ALIGNMENT AND COMMUNISM

Richard Wright recognized the dynamic, yet-undefined relationship between the

concept of non-alignment and the specter of communism through the relationship of Jawaharlal Nehru of India and China's Chou En Lai.

Nehru, a pivotal presence at the conference because of his credibility as spokesperson for neutrality for Asian and African nations in the Cold War, was deeply influenced in his political thinking by his participation in earlier international conferences. He attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels, Belgium in Feb. 1927, undoubtedly a major pre-cursor to Bandung. As a representative of

the Indian National Congress he met envoys of colonial peoples and their European and Latin American supporters—radical nationalists along with socialists and communists. In 1947 he hosted the first Asian Relations Conference, which an impressive gathering of scores of Asian nations attended. He stressed in his inaugural speech Asia's "special responsibility" to Africa.

Wright found Nehru to be "logical, quick, observant, and knowing." Yet Wright thought Nehru, who shared with him an attraction to communism and a disdain for its concept of absolute truth, was being used by "coy" Chou En Lai.

The Chinese leader approached the conference participants with "utmost friendliness and reserve,...turning the other cheek when receiving ideological slaps." Wright was surprised, but thought "clever" Chou En Lai's effective moves at the conference. His speech stressed Asian-African unity instead of attacking the West or pushing communist ideology on newly "free" nations. Nehru ran inter-

ference for the more critical questions put to the Chinese leader. "Pan-Asianism" was legitimated and empowered by the weight of communist China. Chou En Lai's seemingly weak, but tactical stance at the conference only ensured a de facto bloc against the West. In the late 1950s it provided China with the wedge it needed for the Sino-Soviet split. China's relationship began to decline with India in 1959 over the question of Tibet, and was finally destroyed in the border clashes of 1962.

Cuba, which became "independent" in 1959 under the leadership of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, aligned itself with the Soviet Union despite similar sovereignty tensions (epitomized by the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1961), and in the spirit of Bandung forged the Havana Tricontinental Congress (1965), of course excluding China.

"PAN-ISLAM"

The author of *The Color Curtain* did not let religious ideological forces at the conference escape his notice. Dr. Mohammed Natsir, former prime minister of Indonesia and at the time head of Indonesia's largest political party, Masjumi, was a leading proponent of a theocratic Muslim state and what he called "Pan-Islam." His conception of "Pan-Islam" was that it would make communism obsolete because it would be "socialist in nature." While it would be internationalist, "Pan-Islam" would be non-aligned and neither communist nor capitalist. He also predicted that the West would collaborate with what the media now calls Muslim "fundamentalists" as a lesser evil against communism.

"PAN-ARABISM"

Gamal Abdel Nasser was a prominent figure at Bandung because he was laying the foundations for both Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism, which he would be synonymous with in years to come. He denounced the United Nations and the West for complicity in the displacement of the Palestinians from their homeland. Lebanon, another stronghold of refugees from "Israel," would add its voice. Nasser was a dynamic secular figure who challenged the West by "nationalizing" the Suez Canal (1956) and uniting for a short time Egypt with Syria (the UAR, United Arab Republic) through Michael Aflaq's Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party.

Algeria, as well as Tunisia and Morocco, denounced French colonialism

at the conference. Nasser's Egypt, which had to liberate itself from both British and French influence, supported their resolution. Algeria, which became officially independent in 1962, was led by Ahmed Ben Bella. Along with Nasser, he consciously linked the destiny of the predominantly Arab north with Africa south of the Sahara through Pan-Africanism. Yet even for their bourgeois statist ambitions, Ben Bella and Nasser had petty scraps with Kwame Nkrumah. When Patrice Lumumba's Congo came under neo-colonialist attack five years after, no one, save Nkrumah, would jeopardize their sovereignty to intervene. Nkrumah's advice was poor. All but Nasser would be overthrown by 1966.

"PAN-AFRICANISM"

Kwame Nkrumah, whose emerging Ghanaian revolution (1957) was chronicled by Richard Wright in another travelogue, *Black Power* (1954), does not have a visible voice in *The Color Curtain*. Wright shows disappointment with the "weakness" of "Negro Africa" at the conference even in terms of awareness.

Pan-Africanism, an ideology associated with Nkrumah, clearly informed how African-American identity was shaped at Bandung. The very concept of the term "people of color" and Africans in America not being a "minority" may have been born at Bandung. This significance was recognized in the speeches of Malcolm X.

LESSONS OF BANDUNG?

From "People of Color" to the "Third World," Bandung clearly helped to forge the modern identity politics of race, religion and nationality. Historically, hope for and fear of world revolution has followed what seemed to be unprecedented emerging dignity expressed by statesmen that wielded "Pan-" ideologies which, to the ear, transcend nationalism and pointed to internationalism. What may be left from Bandung is an earlier and equally ill-defined Islamic Fundamentalism.

The legacy of these "great" leaders and their regimes represented at Bandung is a sad one. The personalities that were worshipped (Nehru, Nkrumah, Nasser, Chou En Lai, Ho Chi Minh), however great their oratory, were in practice authoritarian, undemocratic, sexist, and despite major theses to the contrary, complicit with furthering neo-colonialism and/or establishing state capitalism.

Non-alignment was clearly a tactic, not a philosophy. Skillful Cold War diplomacy gained some leverage for state sovereignty, but what of the people? In today's one-superpower world no maneuvers are comparably impressive. In a manner similar to much-criticized communist and so-called non-aligned regimes, many nationalists rally the people for "independence" only to seize power in their name and suppress their aspirations for true freedom.

A fundamental aspect of class struggle is to uphold oppressed nationalities' rights of self-determination. This usually entails all struggles against racism. However, it should matter what form the struggle takes. Are we capable of critical support? If our solidarity is not wanted are we capable of withstanding being race-baited, called Uncle Toms, counter-revolutionaries, class-collaborationists? Should we give our support to everyone who raises a flag and fashions a revolutionary song?

Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral, two of the very few principled Pan-African figures (most of whom died young and never wielded state power at all or very long, other good examples are Malcolm X and Patrice Lumumba), were critical of the "national bourgeoisie" and called for them to commit "class suicide" to help fulfill the promise of a national liberation struggle.

We must have the courage to take nationalists to task. We must not allow bourgeois nationalist "people of color" to define the national liberation struggle as authoritarian, undemocratic, statist, homophobic, sexist, or "scientifically" racist. We must ignore hypocritical "Sounds of Blackness" and march to the beat of our own drum.★



Funeral procession for victims of South Africa's police.

The Situation in México

(Continued from page 1)

and the real reasons for the devaluation were soon exposed. Had the PRI succeeded in deceiving the Mexican people about the root of their newly increased economic misery, they may have gained the popular backing necessary for the military offensive against the Zapatistas that some foreign investors in México have been pushing for.

WAR, BUT NO SHOOTING

On Dec. 19 the EZLN announced that it had broken through the Mexican Federal Army's encirclement of its territory, and the war was back on (see communiqué in the last issue of *Love and Rage*). However, this was a war in which the side that fired the first shot would lose, by virtue of losing the support of Mexican 'civil society,' which supported a peaceful end to the conflict. A ceasefire was called after a few days, and, on Jan. 15, representatives of the PRI government had met with the Zapatistas in Zapatista territory in order to set the terms for negotiating a peace. It seems unlikely that these peace negotiations will be more fruitful than the ones held in early 1994. In June 1994 the Zapatistas rejected the government's response to their demands as being inadequate and negotiated in bad faith. To whose advantage the delay in hostilities caused by the peace negotiations works is an open question. The government is seeking to isolate the EZLN by showing how "unreasonable" they are for not accepting the government's offers, while the EZLN is working to expand its base beyond Chiapas. It has recently spoken of other armed groups in other parts of México that support it, but little evidence of formidable groups has been presented. These statements, along with the EZLN's failure to follow through on promises of massive upheaval following a PRI victory in the Aug. 21, 1994 presidential elections and following the installation of Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León as president on Dec. 1, may weaken the EZLN's ability to convince the Mexican masses to join in and spread their revolution throughout México.

There is also some question about the strength of the base the EZLN is creating outside of Chiapas. The National Democratic Convention [CND] formed in August at the behest of the EZLN in an attempt to spread the struggle. In the spirit of democracy, the EZLN refused to control the CND, leaving a vacuum that was soon filled by the Democratic Revolutionary Party [PRD]. Some prominent CND members even denounced the EZLN when they renewed hostilities against the Mexican government in December.

REFORMISTS OR ANTI-VANGUARDISTS?

On Jan. 1, 1995 the EZLN issued the "Third Declaration of the Lacandona Jungle," in which it called for the formation of a National Liberation Movement [MLN] to be headed by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. Presumably, the MLN has been formed partially in response to the problems that have



PRD supporters occupied the main plaza of Villahermosa, capital of the state of Tabasco, for more than 20 days protesting fraudulent state elections. This photo is from Jan. 18, when PRI supporters attacked the PRD supporters and ended the protest.

arisen with the CND. The MLN, in contrast to the CND, which was created to struggle through peaceful means to incorporate part of Mexican "civil society" into the Zapatista base, is meant to "struggle by all means." This broadly incorporates other armed groupings and groups that were excluded from the CND due to their militancy and sectarianism within the CND. [Some experiences of the CND can be found on pages 20-21]

However, the choice of Cárdenas to head the MLN raises questions. An important differentiation between the EZLN and other revolutionary armies that have appeared in Latin America is that seizing state power is not an objective of the Zapatistas. Rather, the EZLN has stated that it wishes to open up political space so that "real democracy" can take place and the people can democratically decide how they want to live (as we have seen in the case of the CND, unless a fight is waged to keep a political space open, it will be filled by an opportunistic force such as the PRD). Revolutionary anti-authoritarians supporting the EZLN have tended to view this aim in the best possible light: that the EZLN does not have any pretensions to represent anyone other than themselves, and sees a need to negotiate how México will be governed with other forces in México. Others have seen the EZLN's lack of focus on seizing state power and willingness to negotiate with the government as a sign that they are merely "armed reformists" and not revolutionaries. In reality, the Zapatistas probably lie somewhere along this continuum, and not at either pole.

Some people see the choice of Cárdenas to lead the MLN as confirmation of the EZLN's armed reformist direction. Cárdenas was a member of the PRI and a fairly typical, if liberal, PRI governor in the state of Michoacán. Cárdenas has always been a member of México's ruling class. In 1988 he ran for president (and lost only due to fraud) as an independent candidate only because he was upset at not being chosen as the PRI candidate. Had he been selected, he would gladly have run as the PRI candidate. He and

other disenfranchised members of the PRI, along with rightward-sliding members of the fragmented left, formed the PRD soon after his 1988 loss. During the 1994 presidential campaign he came out in favor of NAFTA, which the EZLN had called a death sentence for México's poor. The EZLN was extremely critical of Cárdenas in communiqués and in person when Cárdenas first visited Zapatista territory in May 1994. Cárdenas seems an odd choice to head a radical movement ready to combat the PRI by any means necessary.

There are two likely possibilities as to why the EZLN chose Cárdenas to head the MLN. Many who argue that the EZLN are armed reformists see this as consistent with what they perceive as the EZLN's strategy. They see an alliance with a reformist member of México's ruling class, and leader of the liberal PRD, as being natural for the EZLN, who they think are using militant methods to petition for reforms. Others see the selection of Cárdenas as arising out of necessity, due to the difficulties the EZLN has had in building a base outside of Chiapas.

Face-to-face with the vastly superior firepower of the Mexican Federal Army, for the EZLN to survive and make it impossible for the Mexican government to isolate and destroy them, they must extend their struggle to encompass all of México. In the wake of the Aug. 21 elections, the Mexican left has been weakened and demoralized. Although Cárdenas's politics can barely be called left-wing, he is one of the few individuals on the left in México capable of unifying and mobilizing a large number of people.

However, the politics around which Cárdenas succeeds in mobilizing people, if he succeeds, will probably ultimately work against the EZLN. Should a mass mobilization in México succeed in toppling the PRI, Cárdenas would be more likely to place himself in the presidency and institute liberal reforms rather than carry out the EZLN's radical plan of land redistribution to those that work it, women's liberation, and placing factories under workers' control. He might be similar to his father, Lázaro Cárdenas, who carried out the most extensive land reforms in Mexican history while solidifying PRI rule. In 1919 Emiliano Zapata was assassinated by an agent of Venustiano Carranza, a fellow revolutionary who was bent on seizing state power. A similar scenario may be in the works for the Zapatistas in an alliance with Cárdenas.

[At the Feb. 4-6 third national meeting of the CND, Cárdenas declined to lead the MLN after it became clear that he did not have the support of a large number of those present. The nascent MLN's politics are as yet unclear.]

NORTH AMERICAN SOLIDARITY

More than a year into the Zapatista revolution, solidarity groups in the US are being cohered into a more concrete form by the National Commission for Democracy in México, USA. In June the EZLN commissioned Cecilia Rodríguez, a longtime Chicana activist, as their representative in the US. She soon got to work

organizing the NCDM in order to consolidate the efforts of the many Zapatista solidarity groups that had spontaneously formed. The NCDM has managed to encompass many of the groups doing Zapatista solidarity work. Within the NCDM, all local groups are autonomous, although there is a leading body based in Texas that officially represents the NCDM as a whole and suggests strategies for the local groups to follow. There are wide political differences within the NCDM, ranging from those such as Love and Rage members and other radicals in the NCDM who think revolution in the US is the best way to effectively aid the Zapatistas, to some who believe that writing congresspeople is an effective strategy for social change. The majority of the NCDM falls widely between these poles. Alongside the task of organizing a base for mass direct action in support of the Zapatistas, the work of distributing the writings of the EZLN and organizing material aid continue, not as charity, but as part of the process of building a base of support for the EZLN and its politics here in the US.

Those wishing to join the Zapatista solidarity movement are encouraged to contact the NCDM and the Love and Rage Mexican Solidarity Working Group.

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Democracy in México, USA
601 N. Cotton, Ste. A-103
El Paso, TX 79902
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moonlight@igc.apc.org

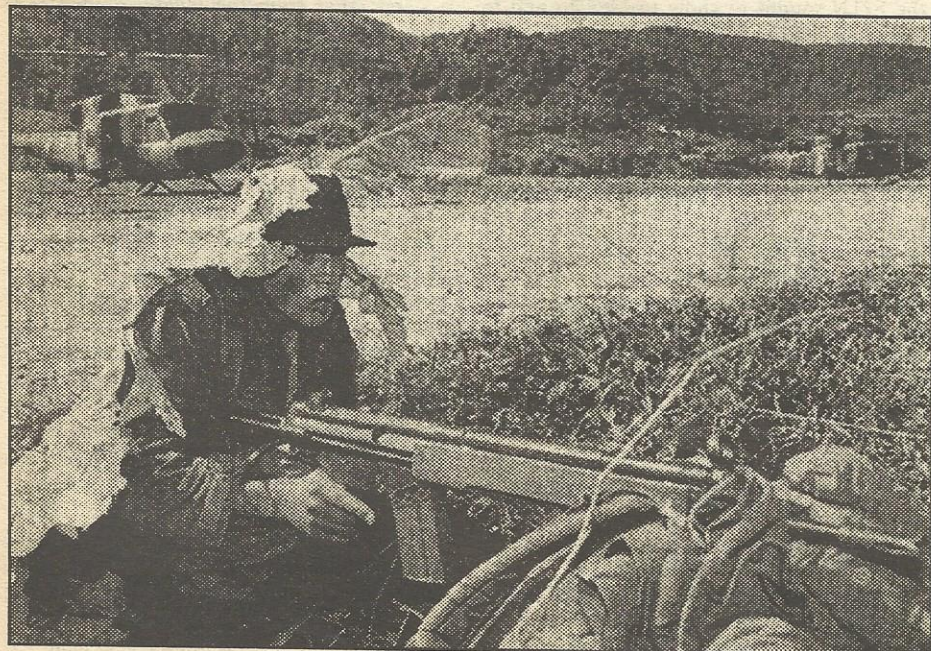
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Mexican soldier occupying Guadalupe Tepeyac, a Zapatista stronghold.

The Third Declaration of the Lacandona Jungle

TRANSLATED BY CECILIA RODRÍGUEZ AND
CINDY ARNOLD, NATIONAL COMMISSION
FOR DEMOCRACY IN MÉXICO, USA

One year after the Zapatista uprising, today we say:

"The motherland lives! And she is ours! We have been disgraced, it is true; our luck has been bad many times, but the cause of México, which is the cause of the people's rights and justice, has not succumbed; it has not died and it will not die because there still exist committed Mexicans, in whose hearts burns the sacred fire of patriotism. Wherever in the republic weapons are clenched and the national banner flies, there, as well as here, will exist, with vitality and energy, the protest of right against force."

"Understanding well the gullible man who has accepted the sad mission of being the instrument for enslaving a free people: His vacillating throne does not rest on the free will of the nation, but rather on the blood and cadavers of thousands of Mexicans who have been sacrificed without reason and only because they defend their freedom and their rights."

"Mexicans: Those who have the disgrace to live under the dominion of the usurpers, do not resign yourselves to putting up with the yoke of oppression that weighs on you. Do not delude yourselves with the perfidious insinuations of the followers of the consummated deeds, because they are and have been always the followers of despotism. The existence of arbitrary power is a permanent violation of people's rights and justice, which neither the passage of time nor arms can ever justify, and whose destruction is necessary to honor México and humanity."

"I declare myself, in action and deeds, just as resolute as in the first day."

Benito Juárez, January 1865, Chihuahua

To the people of México:

To the peoples and governments of the world:

Brothers and sisters:

The first day of Jan. of 1994 we released the "First Declaration of the Lacandona Jungle." The 10th of June of 1994 we released the "Second Declaration of the Lacandona Jungle." First one and then the other were inspired by the fervor of the struggle for democracy, liberty and justice for all Mexicans. In the first one we called upon the Mexican people to take up arms against the bad government as the principal obstacle to the transition to democracy in our country. In the second one we called Mexicans to a civic and peaceful effort. This was the National Democratic Convention, which was to achieve the profound changes that the nation demanded.

While the supreme government demonstrated its falseness and haughtiness, we, by one gesture after another, dedicated ourselves to showing the Mexican people our social base, the justness of our demands, and the dignity that motivated our struggle. Our weapons were laid down, and were put aside, so that the legal struggle could

demonstrate its possibilities and limitations. In the "Second Declaration of the Lacandona Jungle" the EZLN attempted, by all means, to avoid the re-initiation of hostilities and to look for a political, dignified, and just solution to resolve the demands contained in the 11 points of our program for struggle: housing, land, work, food, health, education, justice, independence, liberty, democracy and peace. The pre-electoral process in Aug. 1994 brought hope to many sectors of the country that the transition to democracy was possible by means of the electoral process. Knowing that elections are not, in the current conditions, the road to democratic change, the EZLN accepted being put to one side in order to give legal political opposition forces the opportunity to struggle. The EZLN pledged its word and its effort, then, to seeking a peaceful transition to democracy. In the National Democratic Convention the EZLN sought a civic and peaceful force. One which, without opposing the electoral process, would also not be consumed by it, and that would seek new forms of struggle that would include more democratic sectors in México as well as linking itself with democratic movements in other parts of the world. August 21 ended the illusions of an immediate change through peaceful means. An electoral process that is corrupt, immoral, unfair, and illegitimate culminated in a new mockery of the good will of the citizens. The party-state system reaffirmed its anti-democratic vocation and imposed, in all parts and at all levels, its arrogance. In the face of an unprecedented level of voter participation, the Mexican political system opted for imposition and cut off, therefore, the hopes for the electoral process. Reports from the National Democratic Convention, the Civic Alliance, and the Commission for Truth brought to light what the mass media had hidden with shameful complicity: a gigantic fraud. The multitude of irregularities, the inequity, the corruption, the cheating, the intimidation, the robbery, and the lying—they made the elections the dirtiest ones in México's history. The high absentee rates in the local elections in Veracruz, Tlaxcala, and Tabasco showed that skepticism would reign within civil society in México. Not satisfied with this, the party-state system repeated the fraud of August, imposing governors, mayors and local congresses. As at the end of the 19th century, when the traitors held "elections" to justify the French intervention, today it is said that the nation greets with approval the continuation of an authoritarian imposition. The electoral process of Aug. 1994 is a state crime. They should be judged as criminals and held responsible for this mockery. On the other side, gradualism and hesitation appear in the lines of the opposition who accept a perception of this great fraud as a series of small "irregularities." A great dilemma in the struggle for democracy in México reappears: The civic struggle bets upon a transition "without pain," a final blow that will light the road to democracy, and only prolongs the agony.

The case of Chiapas is only one of the consequences of this political system. Ignoring the longings of the people of Chiapas, the government repeats its dosage of imposition and domination. Confronted by a broad movement of repudiation, the party-

state system opts to repeat to society the lie of its triumph, and to exacerbate the confrontations. The present polarization in southeastern México is the responsibility of the government, and demonstrates its incapacity to resolve, at their roots, the political and social problems of México. Through corruption and repression they try to resolve a problem that can only be solved when the legitimate triumph of the will of the people of Chiapas is recognized. The EZLN has maintained itself, until now, at the margins of the popular mobilizations, even though they have been subjected to a great campaign of defamation and indiscriminate repression.

Waiting for signs of the government's willingness to accept a political, just, and dignified solution to the conflict, the EZLN watched, powerlessly, as the best sons and daughters of the dignity of Chiapas were assassinated, jailed, and threatened. The EZLN watched as their indigenous brothers in Guerrero, Oaxaca, Tabasco, Chihuahua, and Veracruz were repressed and received mockery as an answer to their demands for a solution to their living conditions.

During all of this period the EZLN resisted not only the military blockade and the threats and intimidations by federal forces, but also resisted a campaign of slander and lies. As during the first days of 1994, they accused us of receiving foreign military support and financing; they tried to force us to give up our flags in exchange for money and government posts; they tried to delegitimize our struggle by reducing the national problem to a local, indigenous context. Meanwhile the supreme government prepared a military solution for the indigenous rebellion in Chiapas, and in the nation despair and impatience arose. Covered by an expressed desire for dialogue that only hid the desire to liquidate the Zapatista movement through asphyxiation, the bad government let time and death run rampant through the Indigenous communities in the country.

Meanwhile the Institutional Revolutionary Party, the political arm of organized crime and drug traffickers, went into its most acute phase of decomposition by resorting to assassination as the method of solving its internal conflicts. Incapable of a civilized dialogue within its own party, the PRI bloodied the national soil. The shame of seeing the national colors usurped by the emblem of the PRI continues for all Mexicans.

The government and the country again forgot the original inhabitants of these lands. Cynicism and laziness returned to take possession of the sentiments of the nation. Along with their rights to the minimal conditions of life with dignity, the Indigenous peoples were denied the right to govern and govern according to their own reason and will. The deaths of our members become useless. Seeing that they did not leave us with any other alternative, the EZLN risked breaking the military blockade that surrounded it, and marched with the help of other Indigenous brothers and sisters, who were fed up with the despair and misery and tired of the peaceful means. Seeking at all costs to avoid bloodying Mexican soil with their brothers' and sisters' blood, the EZLN saw itself obliged to call the nation's attention anew to the grave conditions of Mexican Indigenous life. We called attention especially to those who supposedly had received government help and yet continue living in the misery that they inherited, year after year, for more than five centuries. With the offensive in Dec. 1994, the EZLN sought to show to México and to the world, its proud Indigenous essence, and the impossibility of resolving the local situation without simultaneous profound changes in the political, economic, and social relations throughout the country.

The Indigenous question will not have a solution if there is not a RADICAL transformation of the national pact. The only means of incorporating, with justice and dignity, the Indigenous of the nation, is to recognize the characteristics of their own social, political, and cultural organization. Autonomy is not separation; it is integration of the most humble and forgotten minorities of contemporary México. This is how the EZLN has understood the issue since its founding, and this is how the Indigenous communities who make up the leadership of our organization have defined it.

Today we repeat:

OUR STRUGGLE IS NATIONAL.

We have been criticized for asking for too much. We the Zapatistas, it is said, should be satisfied with the handouts that

the bad government offers us. Those who are willing to die for a just and legitimate cause have the right to ask for everything. We Zapatistas are willing to give up the only thing we have, life, to demand democracy, freedom, and justice for all Mexicans.

Today we reaffirm:

FOR EVERYONE, EVERYTHING, NOTHING FOR US! At the end of 1994 the economic farce, with which Salinas had deceived the nation and the international economy, exploded. The nation of money called the grand gentlemen of power and arrogance to dinner, and they did not hesitate in betraying the soil and sky in which they prospered with Mexican blood. The economic crisis awoke Mexicans from the sweet and stupefying dream of entry into the first world. The nightmare of unemployment, scarcity, and misery will now be even more wearing for the majority of Mexicans.

1994, the year that has just ended, has just shown the real face of the brutal system that dominates us. The economic, political, social, and repressive program of neoliberalism has demonstrated its inefficiency, its deceptions, and the cruel injustice that is its essence. Neoliberalism as a doctrine and as a reality should be flung into the trash heap of national history. BROTHERS AND SISTERS: Today, in the middle of this crisis, decisive action by all honest Mexicans is necessary in order to achieve a real and profound change in the destinies of the nation. Today, after having called first to arms and later to a civic and peaceful struggle, we call the people of México to struggle BY ALL MEANS, AT ALL LEVELS, AND IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, for democracy, freedom, and justice, by means of this...

THIRD DECLARATION OF THE LACANDONA JUNGLE

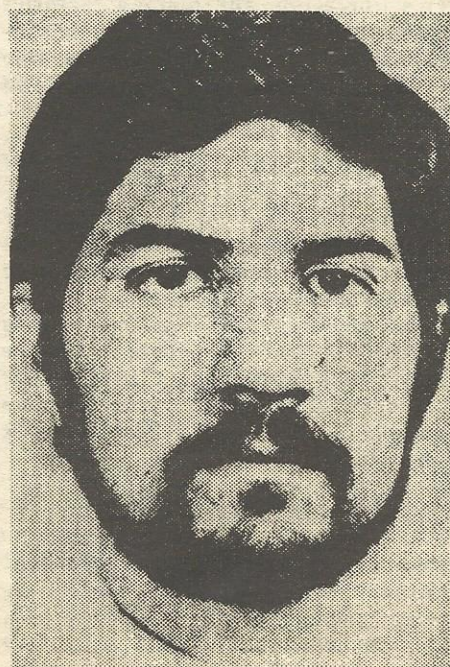
We call upon all social and political forces of the country, to all honest Mexicans, to all of those who struggle for the democratization of the national reality, to form a NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT, including the National Democratic Convention and ALL forces, without distinction by religious creed, race or political ideology, who are against the system of the state party. This National Liberation Movement will struggle from a common accord, by all means, at all levels, for the installation of a transitional government, a new constitutional body, a new constitution, and the destruction of the system of the party-state. We call upon the National Democratic Convention and citizen Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano to head up this National Liberation Movement as a broad opposition front. We call upon the workers of the republic, the workers in the countryside and the cities, the neighborhood residents, the teachers and the students of México, the women of México, the young people of the whole country, the honest artists and intellectuals, the responsible religious members, the community-based militants of the different political organizations, to take up the means and forms of struggle that they consider possible and necessary, to struggle for the end of the party-state system, incorporating themselves into the NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION if they do not belong to a party, and to the National Liberation Movement if they are active in any of the political opposition forces. For now, in keeping with the spirit of this THIRD DECLARATION OF THE LACANDONA JUNGLE, we declare:

First: That from the federal government custody of the Motherland be taken: the Mexican flag, the justice system of the nation, the Mexican Hymn, and the National Emblem will now be under the care of the resistance forces until legality, legitimacy, and sovereignty are restored to all of the national territory.

Second: The original Political Constitution of the United Mexican States is declared valid, as written on the 5th of February of 1917, with the incorporation of the Revolutionary Laws of 1993 and inclusion of the Statutes of Autonomy for the Indigenous regions, and will be held as valid until a new constitutional body is installed and a new constitution is written.

Third: We call for the people of México to struggle for recognition for "the transitional governments to democracy." These shall be social and political organizations, as they are defined by the distinct communities for themselves, which maintain the

(Continued to page 19)



The Mexican government claims that Subcommander Marcos' (left) real identity is Rafael Guillén (government drawing at right).

3rd Declaration

(Continued from page 18)

federal pact agreed upon in the 1917 Constitution, and which are included, without regard for religious creed, social class, political ideology, race or sex in the National Liberation Movement.

The EZLN will support the civilian population in the task of restoring the legality, order, legitimacy, and national sovereignty, and in the struggle for the formation and installation of a national transitional government for

democracy with the following characteristics:

1. The liquidation of the system of the party-state and real separation of the government from the PRI.
2. The reform of the electoral law in terms that guarantee: clean elections, legitimacy, equity, non-partisan and non-governmental citizen participation, recognition of all national, regional, and local political forces, and that convene new general elections in the federation.
3. The convening of a constitutional body for the creation of a new constitution.
4. The recognition of the particularities of the Indigenous groups, recognizing their right to inclusive autonomy and citizenship.

5. The re-orientation of the national economic program, putting aside lies and deceptions, and favoring the most dispossessed sectors in the country, the workers and the peasants, who are the principal producers of the wealth that others appropriate.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

Peace will come hand in hand with democracy, freedom, and justice for all Mexicans. Our path cannot find a peace with justice that our dead demand if it is at the cost of our Mexican dignity. The Earth does not rest; it walks in our hearts. The mockery to our dead demands that we struggle to wash away their shame. We will resist. The oppression and the arrogance will be overthrown. As with Benito

Juárez in the face of French intervention, the motherland marches today at the side of the patriotic forces, against the anti-democratic forces and authorities.

Today we say:

The motherland lives! And she is ours!

Democracy!

Freedom!

Justice!

From the mountains of Southeastern México:

Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee-General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army
México, January 1995★



The Mexican Federal Army invading Zapatista territory near Patihuitz.

Feb. 9 Communiqué

(Continued from page 3)

military force to confront our cause. Protected by a congress with a PRI majority, Zedillo wants to obtain the legal endorsement to suspend individual rights, to declare martial law, and to authorize the massive and indiscriminate use of the federal army against the insurrectionary Indigenous people.

7. The dialogue that the bad government attempted was an effort to bring the EZLN to its knees. It was misled; since Jan. 1st, 1994, we live on foot. On foot we will talk or on foot we will fight; on foot we will live or on foot we will die.

8. The delivery of the wealth of the national subsoil, especially the petroleum, is what is at the root of the current governmental decision. In the top-level government circles of México and the United States, the existence of rich, high quality oil fields in the lands of Chiapas is common knowledge. The EZLN is a disturbance to the treasonous plans of the supreme government. This is the price of the loan: it will have to be paid with Mexican blood, and with Indigenous blood especially, in order to pay off the debt.

The supreme government prepares the criminal blow, prepares the mass media, the legislative and judicial powers, its armed forces and its paramilitaries. The EZLN prepares the resistance. There is no dialogue now. Rather than talk, the bad government made a call to arms.

Second—Today, Feb. 9th, 1995, at 4 pm, hundreds of troops of the federal army took possession of the town halls in San Andrés Sacamach, Simojovel, and Sabanilla, and reinforced the garrisons with thousands of soldiers in Ocosingo, Altamirano, and Las Margaritas. Minutes later, the bad government announced by means of a radio transmitter, and in the voice of Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, a series of declarations and threats regarding the EZLN and our just cause.

Third—With regard to the detention of some people in Mexico City and in the state of Veracruz, who, it is said, belong to the EZLN, we are waiting for information about these people to be able to clarify whether they are or are not members of our army. As we have shown in previous communiqués, the EZLN has always acknowledged that it has forces in other states in the country, but all are under the orders of this CCRI-CG of the EZLN to not carry out any military offensive against any governmental force or its installations.

Fourth—Regarding the serious accusation that Zedillo makes against our EZLN, saying that we refuse to dialogue and that we were preparing for a series of violent acts in order to extend our territory; we declare firmly that this is a lie. The disposition to dialogue and to a just and dignified solution to the conflict has been demonstrated in the statements of our leaders and in the actions to reduce the tensions, which we agreed to in the meeting on Jan. 15, 1995 with the Interior Secretary. At all times the EZLN has given demonstrations of its commitment to a just and dignified political solution to the conflict. The supreme government, through the mouth of its representative Esteban Moctezuma Barragán, did nothing but lie to the people of México and lie to us.

The EZLN denies completely that it was trying to buy time or preparing bellicose actions that would break its commitment to an indefinite offensive cease-fire while the negotiations for a stable treaty were developing. The EZLN's delays in responding to the government's communications were the result of our complying with our obligation to consult the members of this CCRI-CG of the EZLN; the great distances and problems with communication that exist in the mountains of the Mexican Southeast also caused the delay in our answers.

It is evident that the supreme government is ignoring the grave conditions of isolation

in which that same government has always kept the Indigenous communities, and which make communication difficult.

But, above all, it is our lack of trust regarding the supposed will of the government that impedes the possibility that the discussions dedicated to a political solution continue. The climate of belligerence of the *guardias blancas* ["white guards," or death squads] in the states, the forced removals of people from their land, and the lack of a serious proposal for dialogue on the part of the governmental representatives make a serious meeting impossible. From the Zapatista perspective, the governmental decision to take a military solution to the conflict was made in the United States of America. Moctezuma Barragán only tried to gain time, feigning willingness while the supreme government prepared the farce of detentions in Veracruz and Mexico City, finalizing details of the war, and waiting for the end of the rainy season to carry out the planned massacre. The two-sided face of the governmental representatives today now can be seen behind the arrest orders and the military bayonets.

Fifth—With respect to the calumny about the leadership of the EZLN not being Indigenous nor from Chiapas, the EZLN declares that it has no higher command than the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee-General Command, and that it is composed of, in its totality, Indigenous people of Chiapas.

With respect to the origins of Subcommander Marcos, as he has stated since Jan. 1st, 1994, he is not from Chiapas nor Indigenous, but he is Mexican and he obeys our political and organizational direction and no one else. The military questions are his direct responsibility, and there is no higher military authority than his, and in our structure, no one else has the military rank of subcommander.

With respect to the ties of the EZLN to the organization called "National Liberation Forces," the EZLN, during interviews, letters, and communiqués, has explained that in its beginnings members of diverse armed organizations in the country came together, that from there was born the EZLN, and

that this, little by little, has been taken on by the Indigenous communities until they have become the political and military leadership of the EZLN.

To the name of the "National Liberation Forces" as the antecedents of the EZLN, the government should add those of all the guerrilla organizations of the '70s and '80s, Arturo Gámiz, Lucio Cabañas, Genaro Vazquez Rojas, Emiliano Zapata, Francisco Villa, Vicente Guerrero, Jose María Morelos y Pavón, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, Benito Juárez, and many others who are now erased from the history books because a people with a memory are a rebellious people.

We reiterate, the EZLN is an organization of Mexicans, for the most part Indigenous, directed by a committee that brings together the distinct ethnic groups in Chiapas and absolutely does not have, in its composition, any member who is not Indigenous.

Sixth—With respect to the threat of the government to enter the Zapatista communities with federal troops and police in an alleged search for the one they accuse of being Subcommander Marcos, the EZLN declares that while it may appear as a good excuse, it will resist and combat in self-defense if it is assaulted by the governmental forces.

Seventh—The CCRI-CG of the EZLN reiterates its disposition to a political solution to the conflict by means of dialogue without threats, pressures or military attacks.

Eighth—If, regardless of this reiteration of our disposition to dialogue, the bad government goes forward with its war plans, the EZLN declares now that we will not give up. We will fight on foot, on foot we will die, but we will not return to living, not ever, on our knees.

Democracy!

Freedom!

Justice!

From the mountains of Southeastern México

Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee, General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army, February 1995★

The Struggle for Freedom and the National Democratic Convention

To the Mexican People:

The current revolution was not made to satisfy the interests of a personality or of a party. The current revolution recognizes deeper origins and is in search of higher ends. [...] It is true that the dreamers think that the country will be reformed (as it was not reformed in 1910) with an electoral pantomime in which new men of white appearance arise, who will occupy the courtroom benches and the high seat of the presidency. But those who think like that forget that the country has sown, during the crisis of the past four years, unavoidable lessons, that will not allow us to lose our way, and a profound understanding of the causes of our problems and the means of combating them. [...]

Military government first, parliamentary second; reforms in the administration that it might be reorganized; ideal purity in the handling of public funds; official responsibilities that are scrupulously followed; freedom of the press for those who cannot write; freedom of the vote for those who do not know the candidates; correct administration of justice for those who have never hired a lawyer. All of these beautiful democratic facts, all of these great words that led our grandparents and our parents astray, have today lost their magical attraction and their meaning for the people. This, in view of elections and without elections, with electoral suffrage and without it, with the Porfirian dictatorship and the Maderista democracy, with gagged press and with free press, the people continue reflecting on their bitterness, suffering their misery, devouring their indigestible humiliation, and for those reasons they fear, with good cause, that the liberators of today will be the same as the caudillos of yesterday, who in Ciudad Juárez abdicated their beautiful radicalism, and in the National Palace left forgotten their seductive promises.

Revolutionary encampment at Milpa Alta., August 1914

Writings of Emiliano Zapata (1911-1918)

BY VANGELIS PANDELIS

TRANSLATED BY TODD PRANE WITH ELIZABETH BRIGHT

At the beginning of January, when the first information about Chiapas was crossing the Atlantic by means of the international press monopoly (CNN) and some contacts with Mexican *compañeros*, one part of the extreme left and almost all of the anarchist movement lent its support to the armed uprising in the Mexican Southeast.

Nevertheless, revolutionary anarchist solidarity with this insurgency is accompanied by some reservations, and criticizes the hierarchical structure of the EZLN and the demands for democratic and just government.

Theses and demands that speak of a representative democracy and of the possibility of the existence of a "just" state, and of the necessity of government, all of these concepts are strangers to revolutionary anarchist theory and practice.

Because of the solidarity demonstrated by Greek anarchists, one might think that there is a contradiction in the previous paragraph. Nevertheless:

This is an insurgency that surpasses the spontaneous character of the uprisings of the oppressed of this world. The Zapatistas have chosen a moment to start to act without losing their impetus or their rage. They selected the day that NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement] officially began, clearly opposing the penetration of the New World Order (the rich get richer and the poor get poorer).

We are speaking of an insurgency that gets strength from the Mexican revolution-

ary tradition, restoring its continuity through collective memory. In this way, they have achieved substantial social support. ("The conditions of our repression remain the same, our response will remain the same.")

For these reasons, in my opinion, the Zapatista struggle has received the support of the European anarchist movement. A movement which, at the same time, is living the nightmare of the European Common Market (new forms of domination and control, new relations of production, new forms of exploitation) and which does not see on its horizons a response similar to the Zapatistas in the towns of Europe with respect to the decisions of the European Council, of the International Monetary Fund, and of the Maastricht Treaty.

"Know Yourself and Know Your Enemy and You Will Win a Thousand Battles"

The Art of War—Sun Tzu

Aguascalientes, Chiapas, Aug. 6-9, 1994.

If we were in some country in Europe and we spoke of a national democratic convention, without doubt there would be no place for people with anarchist politics and activities. But in a region such as Latin America and in a place such as México, with the recent memories of the armed uprising in the Southeast of the country, things change.

We are speaking of the intention of a people's army to create a free space, to create a common effort between civilians and soldiers to find new paths, new organizational forms, and new struggles for freedom.

If we overlook the excessive interest and the unimaginable fact for Europe that part of its civilian population would travel thousands of kilometers to exchange opinions with an armed group in free territory, we find that the work of the National Democratic Convention can be characterized in the following ways: confusion, hurry, obsession to express the popular will through a vote, and finally, the intent of the Democratic Revolutionary Party [PRD—commonly referred to as the "center-left" party in México, a spin-off from the ruling party] to proselytize.

The sincere disposition of the EZLN to offer a space in the Lacandona Jungle, which did not belong to anyone in particular but rather to all of the participants ("You are in your house, the house of the National Democratic Convention," were the words of Commander Tacho. "This is a common effort between civilians and soldiers, a common effort for change," were the words of Subcommander Marcos) did not have the desired result. The truth is that the time necessary for substantial dialogue, for an interchange of ideas among the participants, where some could express other opinions (perhaps more radical ones) about the popular participation in the electoral circus, was lacking.

The EZLN declared in January that they did not want to seize power, and they manifested this during the convention as well, when they said that they would not support any political party. At the convention, Subcommander Marcos said, "The EZLN did not put as a condition of their support for the National Democratic Convention [CND] a favorable result for an opposition party in the elections."

It is also known that within the EZLN there is no clear tendency of support for any particular political party. Nevertheless, the decision to vote against the PRI and the PAN, and the call for the people to express their resistance within the vote, what can it mean? Why did

groups and individuals of the authoritarian left with their clear reformist tendencies and whose history is known, have so much power and in many cases a leadership role within the convention? Why was the PRD allowed to lower the proceedings of the CND to a pre-electoral meeting? Who



Zapatista soliders on alert preceding the most recent government offensive.

does not remember the shirts with the Aztec sun [insignia of the PRD] printed on them, the propaganda, the ridiculous painting of Marcos and Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas shaking hands under the gaze of Emiliano Zapata?

And to be more specific, why was the proposal for electoral abstention, in such an appropriate moment, not expressed by any participant? Is it possible that the vote is the right response to the violence of exploitation? Why was emphasis not placed on the self-determination and organization of the Mexican people (in the neighborhoods, in the factories, in the countryside, in the schools), organization against the domination of the state, of domestic and foreign capital (NAFTA), against the electoral self-deception, against political parties? Who did not know that the first obstacle to radicalization in the struggle of the proletariat around the world are the followers of "social peace," reformists, and the authoritarian left.

Without a doubt, at this moment, Mexican society needs to assume its historical responsibility. Is it prepared to pay this price?

The thesis of the EZLN, which is directed towards the people and asks them to ask, is right on the mark: The people should not wait for an armed group to "dig them out of their hole." The people should organize resistance parallel to the armed insurgents, with the methods that they decide upon, in order to jointly carry out a revolution for liberation, equality, solidarity and dignity.

The obsession for expressing will through the vote during the CND created the current situation, with struggle against electoral fraud, where Mexicans have their "legal government" (the PRD) and they are going to struggle for them to govern starting December [this article first appeared in the Oct./Nov. issue of *Amor y Rabia*]. (For example in the meetings and marches in San Cristóbal, Chiapas, and in Mexico City, after the elections). It is almost assured that this

type of struggle serves confusion, mistake and the interests of reaction and counter-revolution.

It is the moment, *compañeros*, to know who are our brothers and sisters in struggle and who are our enemies. This is the debt that all honest strugglers have. The process of social liberation cannot pass through every means to reach an end.

In the history of humanity, in the history of popular struggles for liberation, neither politicians nor governments nor elections have offered a solution. This is what people who think freely know; this is known by people who have studied the smallest part of the Mexican Revolution and its undoing; this is what indigenous people in Chiapas knew, when they rose up in arms against tyrants; this is, finally, known by Mexican *compañeros* who will never sell out their social struggles for a place in a party or a seat in the legislature.

In these times that we are living in, we should keep our eyes wide open. The first battle that the oppressed of this world must put up is the battle against those who trade in human hope, the home of dignified life. When there exists exploitation of a human by another human being, there cannot be social peace. We are living in a state of war.

Self-organized action without mediators or political leaders, of a popular revolutionary movement, with conscience and memory is the only path towards a society without bosses or slaves. This is the only way to end the old world. Revolution is alive in the Lacandona Jungle, in the cities, in the countryside of México, in Latin America, in Europe, throughout the world. It is alive in the souls of those who follow the wind of dignity and resistance.

All that we have to lose is our chains.★

Vangelis is a Greek anarchist who attended the first convention of the CND in Chiapas and is currently working with *Amor y Rabia* in Mexico City.

This article originally appeared in the Oct./Nov. '94 issue of *Amor y Rabia*.



A peasant woman in Las Margaritas, Chiapas.

Hanging Out at the Convention

BY ALMA L. AND BETO G.
TRANSLATED BY TODD PRANE WITH ELIZABETH BRIGHT
From Aug. 6 through 9, friendship bore its fruits.

All of the limitations imposed on participants at the National Democratic Convention (CND) were set aside thanks to favoritism and party preference.

As the song says, "Since you're such a good friend..." (three times), no one can deny you.

They entered into Aguascalientes, the site of the CND national meeting, holding hands and shouting "¡Viva Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas!" [leader of the Democratic Revolutionary Party] with the strongly altruistic sentiment of leaving their boots and tents behind, with the great illusion of posing for photos with the Sup [Subcommander Marcos], so that they, upon their return, could show the picture to their relatives and friends, make it into a signed poster, exhibit it in their houses or party offices and feel important as one who has had the good fortune of knowing, in person, someone who went to the convention. For feminists, they only need to hang a photo with Commander Ramona.

San Cristóbal de las Casas became, for one night, a "radical" scene. The "revolutionaries" called attention to themselves with their clowning "approvers" (of attendees of the convention), who did not even go to sleep, since they were so emotional and proud that their walks resembled those of the first astronauts who walked on the moon.

But who really entered that liberated zone, and who stayed outside? How many truly honest and conscious people knew how to value the effort of the Zapatistas—who, in spite of difficulties, and surpassing every obstacle, worked 14 hours daily "for 28 days, in which 600 men and women participated every hour," to construct "a library, a European-style presidium, benches and seats for 8,000 convention-goers, 20 houses, 14 bonfires, parking for 100 vehicles" in record time. And who could not obtain the accreditation because they were not members of the PRD [Partido de la Revolución Democrática, Democratic Revolutionary Party], was not a member of any of the Non-Governmental Organizations, did not know anyone within the CEU [Consejo Estudiantil Universitario, University Student Council, which came about at the beginning of the university strike in 1986 against increasing fees. It is currently divided into three currents, the most important of which is the electoral and PRD current, who have been trying to take over all student struggles by giving them a party line], or did not belong to any circle of intellectuals, but wanted to have their voice, and their vote, count on even one of the five working groups that were established?

What is most likely is that the Zapatistas were not aware of the fraud, the deals and the cons that were carried out in order to get to the convention, and maybe in that moment it was for the best, because disillusionment would have sunk their ship, a ship

in which they most likely would have been sailing alone.

We, the anti-authoritarians of Amor y Rabia [Love and Rage], preferred not to participate in the convention rather than accept the impositions coming from organizing groups such as the CONAC-LN [the National Coordination of Civic Action for National Liberation, the organization created with the intention of giving counsel and legal representation to the EZLN], Women for Democracy, and the PRD, among others, and to run the risk of all of the mass of reformists (who only attended in order to carry out party proselytizing) label us as "saboteurs," since our posture and our voice would have spoken only of self-determination and direct action.

Would this have changed the attitudes of the lucky folks who were able to go to the convention? Would it have been sufficient-

ly convincing to win these people over to the side of insurgence? We didn't think so. For the majority it was like attending a great theater show, where the seats of honor were reserved for the privileged analysts who attended with, and even without, exclusive invitations. They came either as participants or, more often, as observers, with the clear assignment of watching, listening and not quieting, but also not committing to or much less taking on a radical position, for fear of their prestige falling in the eyes of cultured and refined society.

The rest of the seats were occupied by students, daddy's children who found, in the tempest, a case study for their professional thesis and/or a personal realization, since now is the time to "take pity on the Indians."

There were also those who had the attitude of intellectuals (with sandals, glasses and know-it-all faces); the feminists (with Oaxacan skirts and amber necklaces); the young gang sold out to the, err, rather

scholarshipped to the CREA; the future political reporters; the philosophy actors; the Iberophiles; the ears of the Ministry of the Interior.

There may also have been people with the conviction that merely by being on Zapatista land, they would become part of history, or who were there with the surety of getting the insurrectionists to put down their arms.

We are sorry to remove your illusions, but it is not like that. History is built by real women and men, who have masked faces on the outside, but whose hearts and strength are unbendable in the face of the enemy, and equally whose transparency beats and shakes decadent human qualities.

The indigenous people gave us their dark skin and their war-weary blood, their traditions and customs, and, above all, their ancestral wisdom. These are characteristics that all mestizos seize, while we bury deceit, lies, exploitation, hunger and dispossession, using the white man's "progress" as a tool.★

Feb. 10 Letter from the EZLN to President Zedillo

February 10, 1995

To Mr. Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León,

Mr. Ernesto Zedillo, we do not know where you come up with so much money to move hundreds of tanks, helicopters, and thousands of federal troops to kill Mexicans and Indians. We the Zapatista Indigenous know that our country is in an economic crisis, that you have been reducing the salary of workers, you raised the price of goods, but nevertheless, you spent so much money in the mobilization of your troops. You, Mr. Zedillo, believe that by killing Indigenous people and other social fighters for our country, that you are going to finish with Zapatismo. You, Mr. Zedillo, want to put an end to the Indigenous struggle because you consider it a nuisance to remain in power and to continue profiting at the expense of the blood of many Mexicans. But that is not all, Mr. Zedillo will be inscribed in our history books as the powerful rulers of the past who, like you, have wanted to finish with, to erase from our México, the revolutionary figures like Hidalgo, Allende, Aldama, Morelos, Zapata, Villa, as you are doing now with the present Zapatistas.

But you better know, *señor*, that you can kill our bodies, but not ever the ideals of the people who struggle; you can cut our leaves and our trunks but never our roots. We want to tell you also, Mr. Zedillo, that you can spend the 40 billion dollars to spill Indigenous and mestiza blood on our Mexican soil. And you can ask for more dollars from the United States to modernize your army and to kill the Indigenous people who struggle, to kill Mexicans, to kill children from México and Chiapas, to kill your compatriots, as you fancy yourself.

Mr. Zedillo, we accuse you as a traitor to the homeland. Because all the money you have received from the United States you spent to kill Mexicans. You, Mr. Zedillo, are selling our homeland piece by piece. You

fancy yourself in saying that your troops are acting without mistreating the population, without producing fights against our Zapatista troops. You lied once again, Mr. Zedillo, and the Indigenous people are living through the pressures of the soldiers; they are bombing us and using machine guns against us. They are starving our children when we are not able to be in our homes to prepare the little food we have left. If you, Mr. Zedillo, do not size up the consequences that this war you have declared on us could bring. If what you want is to kill the people and not allow to find, along with the Indigenous people, along with civil society, a political solution to this problem, we ask from the whole world for their support. Become aware of the type of government we have in México. We want to clarify also that we do not belong to any other force or organization, besides our Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN). You, along with your accomplices, are accusing us of being terrorists, drug traffickers, delinquents, etc. But we want to tell you the truth, if you don't know it: the delinquents, terrorists, drug traffickers are yourselves. The same ones who make up your cabinet, they are your own soldiers who traffic with drugs, who force the Indigenous peasants to grow marijuana and other narcotics. Have you not become aware of this, perhaps, Mr. Zedillo? We the Zapatistas are aware of it. Because we live with our people. We are the same ones who have fought against the harvest of drugs, against the traffic of drugs that your own soldiers carry out and have done inside the territories that we have controlled. You, Mr. Zedillo, are accusing us of many things we do not recognize. The weapons that we have today, we got through your state police, public security forces, and federal soldiers, because they can traffic in weapons. That is the profession that your armed forces have, Mr.

Zedillo; arms traffickers, drug traffickers. Therefore, they are the drug addicts, the delinquents, and the terrorists.

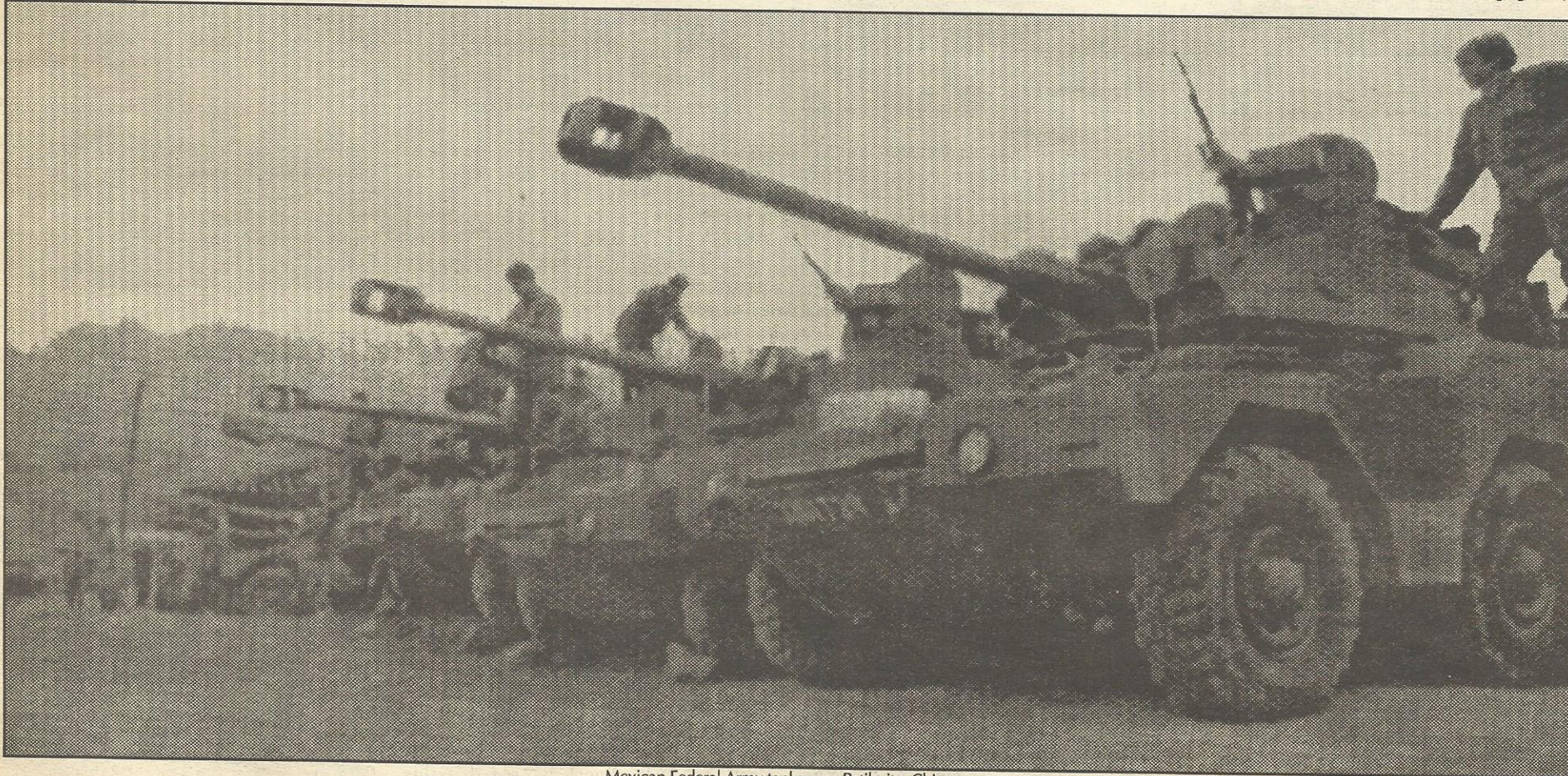
The EZLN has the honor of being the clean fighters of our people and our homeland. It is true, we have experienced and tried other types of struggles for the benefit of our people. But they were not sufficient to make them understand, the great powerful ones who rule our Mexican nation. Subcommander Marcos has been with us, beside our people. Since more than eleven years ago, he has lived, has eaten the same as us, has suffered the same as us. And each step that our Zapatista struggle has taken, has been done with the decision of our people. Our struggle is just and we do not fear you, Mr. Zedillo.

Therefore, Mr. Zedillo, if you truly have honor and the pride of being Mexican, do not order to kill our people. Lower the tension that you have against Subcommander Marcos. Because in México there are many Marcoses who will continue this struggle. You are greatly mistaken with the decision you have taken against us. You believe that by killing the Zapatistas of Chiapas or by killing Subcommander Marcos you can finish with this struggle. That is not the case, Mr. Zedillo. The Zapatista struggle is throughout México. Zapata has not died. He lives and will live forever.

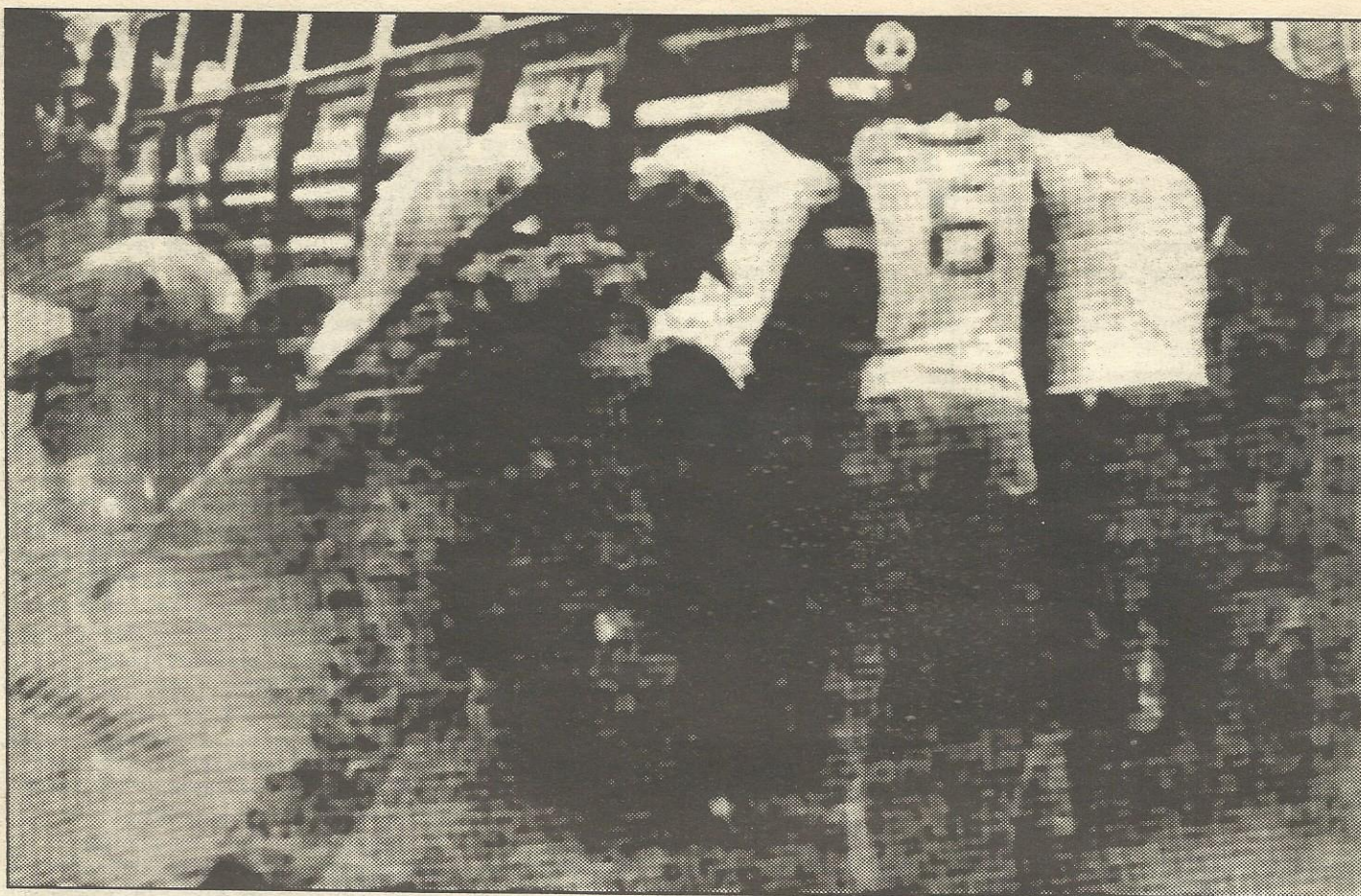
We the Indigenous people know Subcommander Marcos well. And we will not allow anything to happen to him. And, if something happens to him, we are not going to stand around with our arms crossed. Because the Zapatistas do not betray the blood of our dead.

We, of the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee (CCRI), want to know if your last word is the one of war and the killing of Mexicans and Indigenous people, or the capture of all Zapatistas. We don't have any option left any more but to defend ourselves. We are ready for your wishes, but not to betray our

(Continued to page 24)



Mexican Federal Army tanks near Patihuitz, Chiapas.



Young Anarchists Damage a McDonald's in Mexico City's Zona Rosa: Chronicles of the Mexican "Scene"

BY GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ
TRANSLATED BY TODD PRANE WITH ELIZABETH BRIGHT

According to a report that appeared in *La Jornada* on Wednesday, Nov. 9, 1994, signed by Ricardo Olayo, "About thirty 'anarchist' youths broke windows, computers and threw food and trash cans to the ground in the McDonalds located on Génova street in the 'Zona Rosa' [a tourist and very upper-class area of Mexico City] as a protest against Proposition 187, which was passed yesterday (Nov. 8) in California...."

"There were no attacks against clients nor against employees, although the misfits blocked entrance to the restaurant for about 10 minutes while they distributed propaganda against [California] governor Pete Wilson, and repudiating the xenophobic climate which has been set against foreign immigrants because of the proposition...."

"Some of the youths had their faces covered with ski masks or bandannas according to witnesses. Others had hair painted in various colors, dark clothing and boots, like punks from London."

In the same article the reporter described the facts via one of the clients of the multinational chain who witnessed the event: "I asked one of them why they wrote 'no to Zionism' and they didn't know how to answer me."

This apparent ignorance had great repercussions when the action was reported on Telementira [Tele-"lies"], excuse me, Televisa [a government-dominated television network in México] on the news show of misinformation "24 Hours." Director Abraham Zabloudski, in clear command of the art of lying, declared that it was an act of vandalism by neo-nazi youth. The ignorance of the punk who was interviewed allowed the immediate twisting of events by these misinformation specialists, who presented an anti-Zionist posture (that is, against the imperialist and expansionist Israeli state in the Middle East) as anti-Semitism (being against the Jewish people).

Ricardo Olayo reported that "Before they left, they identified themselves as 'anarchists.' The flyer they left has the initials JAR, which probably stands for Revolutionary Anarchist Youth [Juventud Anarquista Revolucionaria], according to members of the Judicial Police...."

"One of the witnesses said the youths 'smelled of some inhalant [Sniffing glue and solvents is a very common form of intoxication by youth in Mexico City; it is also used by homeless people to stifle hunger.] or alcohol,' which he didn't like because they had their dinner hour interrupted by it...."

"The anarchists," continued Olayo, "left towards Paseo de la Reforma, boarded two #100 busses, and headed towards La Villa. Several patrol cars left to follow the vehicles, but without success...."

Nothing else appeared with respect to the incident (setting aside all of the yellow journalism of the sensationalist dailies) until Sunday, Nov. 13 in *La Jornada*, when Ricardo Olayo once again reported on the progress of the investigation, in an article headlined: "A witch-hunt for those responsible for the McDonalds attack."

"The Judicial Police in the capital began a witch hunt against the young punks who they are trying to tie to the damage last Tuesday in the McDonalds in the Zona Rosa."

"Yesterday afternoon, they detained 12 youths from Monterrey and Guadalajara who were planning to go to a rock concert today, Sunday (Nov. 13)."

"At night, hidden in another location, one group of youths who managed to escape said that they were detained without any reason near the Revolución subway station."

"They claimed to have nothing to do with the acts and that the judicial police fired on them several times and acted with 'extreme violence.'"

"In the same manner, without direct accusation, the other youths are being detained for their presumed participation in the damage to the restaurant. The Public Ministry had indicated that they were captured in possession of drugs, and that they would be sent to the Attorney General's office accused of crimes against health."

"There is no indication about their participation in the acts, but the judicial police have identified them as punks that frequent the Zona Rosa."

"In an interview, both said that they

were attending a meeting near Insurgentes, but that when there was low attendance, they left to go somewhere else. A few minutes later, a group of 30 'anarchists,' as some of them called themselves, gathered on Génova street and damaged the McDonalds. As a result, for the crime of damaging property, an investigation was begun."

"Jorge Brothers Avalos, 21 years old, and Antonio Porcayo Lara, 26, were detained the Rio de Janeiro Plaza in the Roma Colonia [neighborhood], where they were drinking beer last Thursday. Both had their hair dyed various colors, which 'led' the police to detain them, because they matched the descriptions of those who attacked the restaurant."

"Are you members of the JAR [Revolutionary Anarchist Youth]?"

"No, everyone is independent."

"Are you an anarchist?"

"No, I'm a vegetarian, and I'm against the mistreatment of animals."

"Brothers said that he heard of the events the next day, when he saw a photo in *La Jornada*, and that he recognized one known as El Wilson, who was photographed kicking a door in."

In a broadcast on the news program "24 Hours," where Brothers and Porcayo appear with visible marks of torture, gave other names and addresses to the judicial police, which resulted in the apprehension of those previously mentioned."

COWARDICE DOES NOT HAVE IDEOLOGICAL LIMITS

"It wasn't me, it was Teté, hit her, hit her, it was her" (a children's game)

In the same edition of *La Jornada* on Sunday, Nov. 13, there is a letter published in the *El Correo Ilustrado* section signed by four groups and three individuals entitled "The Opinion of Young Anarchists on the Events at the McDonalds." (see the end of this article for the full text of the letter).

In this letter the authors express their desire to "make public" their position with respect to the events of the McDonalds. They question the attitudes of "those who call themselves anarchists" but at no time do they question the origins of the action: discrimination, xenophobia, and racism. They condemn "the rebels" but do not question the brutality of the state. They do not condemn the hunting down of youths (much like themselves, because we imagine that those who sign the letter as Cambio Radical are the grandchildren of the original collective members who disappeared due to the ineffectiveness of the collective), nor do they condemn the torture and violation of rights to which many youths were submitted.

I believe that since the authors of the letter do not hold many of the beliefs and currents of anarchism, they should stick more to their considerations that "the well-being of peoples can only be achieved through respect and mutual understanding" (are these prophecies from Nostradamus?) and to respect all of the form and ways which, within the principles of the liberatory ideal, try to reach a society without a state: liberatory communism. In this way, they obligate us to agree with this type of "aseptic anarchism," and to feel at least a pinch of "respect" and a minimum of "mutual understanding."

WHEN THE RIVER SOUNDS

On Monday, Nov. 14, another letter appeared in *La Jornada* (yes, we do have a subscription) related to the events at McDonalds. This one was signed by two young PRD supporters [PRD—Party of the Democratic Revolution—often referred to as the "center-left opposition party" by the capitalist press. Center-center-sort-of-right might be more accurate. Headed by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas] but in the name of the JAR. In this letter, the young anti-authoritarian revolutionaries deny any connection to the acts carried out by "unidentified individuals with no connection whatsoever with the JAR." In the letter, the JAR explains that they, along with the signers of the other letter, carry out various cultural and informative activities, "in addition to participating in the social movement of the National Democratic Convention [the National Democratic Convention was convened by the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) last fall. The Convention was promptly taken over by PRD-dominated groups and by the PRD itself. See related stories in this issue.] and its various mobilizations."

Reading the first report written by Ricardo Olayo, our first desire was to try to make contact with the youths and, within our few resources, offer them our solidarity in the difficult moments that they were facing. The second note made our search doubly intense, seeing the hunt started by the state against all youth, for the sole reason of having a punk appearance. We were even more put-off by the supposed "compañeros" of the youths who gave informa-

(Continued to page 26)

GOVERNMENTS DON'T FALL BY THEMSELVES. THEY NEED YOUR HELP. JOIN THE FEDERATION

If you find yourself in general agreement with the politics of the Love and Rage Federation, get involved! Contact one of the local groups listed here, or write the Federation Office for information if there is no group near you.

Amor y Rabia
Apdo. 11-351/CP 06101
México, DF

BCAC
PO Box 93312
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Detroit Love and Rage
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Livernois Station
Detroit, MI 48210
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Federation Office
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Rebellion from the Roots: A Review

[John Ross, *Rebellion from the Roots: Indian Uprising in Chiapas*, Monroe: Common Courage Press, 1995, 404 pp.]

BY HARRY CLEAVER

Ross' book is a fairly lengthy but quite readable and sympathetic account of the Zapatista uprising from Jan. 1, 1994 until the conclusion of the Mexican elections on Aug. 21, 1994. It is a journalistic account, not a scholarly one. There are no footnotes and few references. While much of the book contains his own on-site reporting, Ross intersperses his observations of events and interviews of Zapatistas with chunks of history and descriptions of activities outside Chiapas, e.g. Salinas' reaction to news of the uprising, demonstrations in Mexico City. Although the history is useful and the accounts of events he did not directly observe seem fairly accurate, both appear cobbled together from diverse and obscure sources, and often are not easily

verifiable. The journalistic approach of trying to make everything dramatic by conjuring up detailed descriptions of unobserved events, attitudes, and behaviors leaves the reader wondering about how much of such material is real and how much has been crafted for effect.

Nevertheless, the book provides both a vivid account of the uprising, including some of the fighting, and some useful background to the Zapatista rebellion. Not only does Ross, at various points in the text, sketch the history of campesino revolt from the resistance to conquest right through to the present, but he also provides some vivid history of exploitation and politics in Chiapas, and tries to reconstruct the genesis of the Zapatista movement itself.

Toward the beginning of the book he examines the evidence of the pre-January-1st activities of the Zapatistas, and that of the government's knowledge of their existence. In general his interpretation agrees

with the view that the government had plenty of evidence that guerrillas were organizing in the mountains, but muted its reactions out of fear of derailing the push for the North American Free Trade Agreement. Faced with a tri-national opposition that linked a wide variety of social activists, the last thing the Salinas administration wanted was public recognition of brewing popular revolt against its policies.

Toward the end of the book, Ross pieces together evidence that the handful of *ladino* outsiders, including Subcommander Marcos, came to Chiapas out of more-or-less Maoist grassroots organizing experience elsewhere in México. Ross traces the development of such organizing in the north of México, e.g. Adolfo Orive's "Política Popular" movement, that developed into "Tierra y Libertad" in Monterrey and elsewhere. He quotes the testimony of a Jesuit in Proceso to the effect that Bishop Ruiz—a central figure in the political turmoil and peace negotiations in Chiapas—had visited the north, seen the activities of Tierra y Libertad, and invited its activists to the South. Such testimony, of course, tends to support the rabid accusations of the right in Chiapas that the Zapatistas were organized by the church—accusations denied by both church and Zapatistas. Although Ross suggests that the Jesuit's testimony must be taken with a grain of salt, given religious competition in Chiapas, his own reconstruction of the origins of the Zapatistas relies heavily upon it.

That reconstruction suggests that the Política Popular militants did come south and did set about building movements among the *campesinos*, movements that included groups such as the Union of Ejidos and the Union of Unions and ARIC (The Rural Association of Collective Interest). Such efforts, Ross asserts, provided "the organizational sea" from which the Zapatistas eventually emerged. The larger "sea," he also recognizes, included all other efforts at grassroots organization, including those by a wide variety of churches in Chiapas.

Although he can find no evidence that Marcos came to Chiapas as a member of the Política Popular—indeed, according to historian Pedro Moctezuma, Marcos' arrival in 1983 was two years after the PP stopped sending groups—the fact that Marcos himself has said that he came as one of a dozen is taken by Ross as giving credence to Moctezuma's conjecture that Marcos' group "was recruited from a successor formation." With so little hard evidence, such conjectures remain highly speculative.

Unfortunately, the limits to Ross' account of the Zapatistas' origins reappear in his accounts of their internal organization, one of the most interesting things about them. He duly notes their rejection of traditional Marxist-Leninist approaches both to organization, i.e., the party of professional revolutionaries to lead the masses, and to power, i.e., the seizure of state power. At the same time he repeats, as others have done, their own descriptions of the democratic character of their decision making.

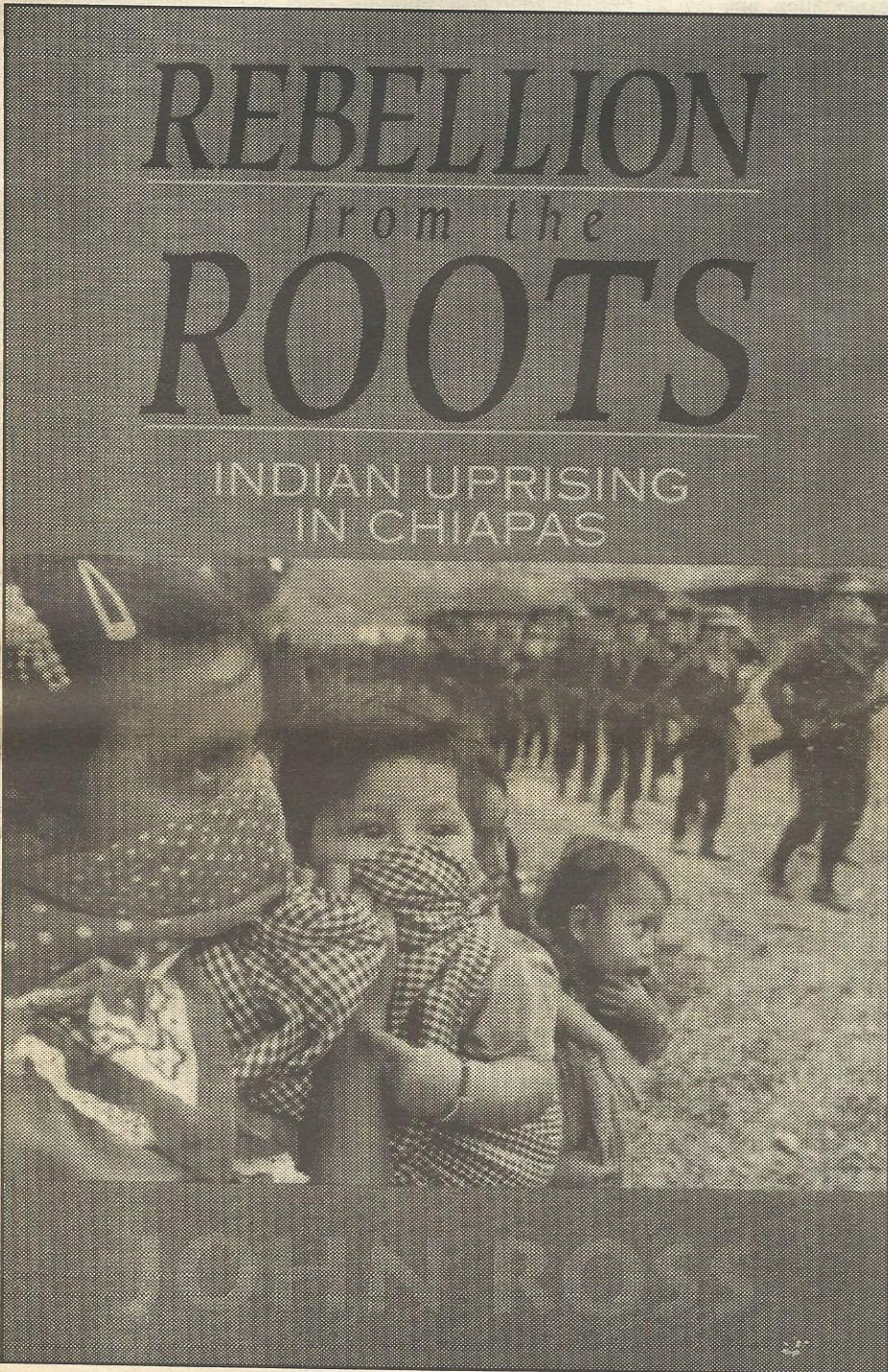
While what Ross takes as their Maoist roots in organizations such as Tierra y Libertad included a penchant for democratic

assemblies where all could be heard, they consider that their political practice came to be permeated and reshaped by their experience in the even more democratic indigenous communities. Ross: "The communal assembly is the supreme and ultimate arbiter of EZLN direction. Each communal assembly selects its own officers: a 'responsible' to secure the communal safe house, education and health commissioners who meet regionally, and delegates to one of the four Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committees or CCRI's, each of the four Zapatista language groups having their own...Eleven delegates are chosen to sit on the ruling CCRI-General Command..." Or, "The war itself was voted and the vote taken in classic Zapatista fashion, family by family and settlement by settlement."

All this sounds great, at least to those who have abandoned top-down organization in favor of bottom-up politics. However, Ross' story fails to provide any kind of independent evidence about the actuality of these processes. There is no on-the-spot reporting of such consultations in action. Nor is there any testimony by either students of *Chiapaneco* society, e.g., anthropologists, or by non-Zapatista campesinos of their experiences within such decision making. The problem is not just John Ross. Nowhere in the spate of studies that have been written in response to the Zapatista uprising have I yet found better information or deeper insight into these issues. Even the seven essays on the rebellion by eight anthropologists featured in the special Spring issue of *Cultural Survival Quarterly* failed to discuss these issues.

The attractiveness of the Zapatista movement lies, of course, in more than its internal democratic organization. Or even in its demands for the generalization of that democracy to society as a whole. The ability of its spokespeople, especially but not uniquely Marcos, to articulate the pains and desires of Mexico's people of the earth with eloquence, and sometimes humor, has clearly had wide appeal. Ross' book gives a sampling of those traits. The movement's demands for political and cultural autonomy against the centralized power of the Mexican state and multinational capital has also appealed to far more than indigenous peoples. Here again Ross provides at least a sketch. The Zapatista demand for land redistribution (against the current capitalist push for enclosure) and its refusal of capitalist development (against neoliberalism)—central aspects of the demand for autonomy—are notes that have vibrated strongly throughout what Guillermo Bonfil has called "México Profundo", Deep or Heartland México. Ross' historical accounts provide a vivid portrayal of the

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Blood and Mud: A CD Dedicated to the Zapatistas

"It's been a fucking long time since we Indians kicked ass around here, and Cuauhtémoc (México's great Aztec hero) was the fucking greatest of them all. But then a shitload of fucking Spaniards arrived and the fuckers fucked us over a thousand fucking times and took us all to hell. To stop these and all other fuckers from fucking us over, join the Zapatistas."

—Anonymous text from the Rhythm Activism song "They Fucked Us"

BY ¡DANG!

Yes indeed folks, the people's cabaret is free and open! Step right up and come on in. Rhythm Activism, all the way from Montréal, have come to sing, rant, play and act out their version of the Zapatista movement, the fabulous Magón brothers, the not-to-be-missed "muerte del capitalismo" [death of capitalism], and other related facts and tales. You'll witness passion, drama, humor, and radical grassroots struggle as depicted through Rhythm Activism's special hybrid of fönk music (folk + punk). Yes folks, this show will make the Mexican, US, and Canadian gov-

ernments wish they had a bigger rock to smash the people with instead of poor old Billy Boy's Little Rock. Enough mental masturbation, now on with the review!

Rhythm Activism are a musical crew of anarchists whose previous offerings have addressed sexism, the National Front, and the Oka uprising. On their new CD, *Blood and Mud*, they are obviously inspired by México's strong culture of resistance. The title of the CD was lifted from a Subcommander Marcos quote stating that blood and mud are the costs of capitalism in Chiapas. The lyrics to the songs are quotes: a one paragraph short story, or a listing of statistics comparing the wealth of resources in Chiapas to the poverty of its people, are used to bolster the sentiments of the music. For example, "NAFTA Love Song" is actually not a song, but a skit/commercial pushing the blatant evils of NAFTA ("50 hour work week at \$.90 an hour!") as a cheap used-car salesman's dream come true. The kicker is found in the liner notes, where a Canadian bank president hangs himself in saying "We don't have a moral responsibility" to México.

Thus the emotion and humor found in their music is politically reinforced by the text provided in the insert.

Drawing from the propaganda and actions of the EZLN, Rhythm Activism attempts to create new folk songs filled with unsung heroes of humanity past and present. Whether it's a little girl on her grandfather's knee, Indigenous peasant, or the famous etchings of Posada, Rhythm Activism brings to life the dreams, visions, and history of the Mexican people. They touch on and support issues of concern championed by the EZLN, such as the poverty of the Indigenous people, NAFTA, and the never-ending call for "tierra y libertad" [land and freedom]. In this way, *Blood and Mud* is a show of solidarity equal to any demonstration, newspaper article or discussion group that supports the women and men who battle daily for their basic needs.

On the partisan tip, Rhythm Activism revels in the anarchist legacies of the Magón brothers and Margarita Ortega. The Magón brothers were important revolutionary anarchists who were heavily involved in the labor movement. Margarita Ortega



was a member of the anarcho-communist Mexican Liberal Party, and certainly not someone to mess with. She gave her husband an ultimatum, fight for the poor or she would not share the same bed with him. She left him, and her daughter came with to join the Mexican Revolution. Margarita Ortega was eventually captured and executed by the Mexican government in 1913. Rhythm Activism effectively combine the old with the new to deliver a straight-up picture (and soundtrack) of revolution then and now.

There have already been dozens of books, articles, and pamphlets devoted to the Zapatistas in the past year. Rhythm Activism adds their voice of admiration, hope, and support in a unique and inspiring manner. They end the recording singing "We are the prologue, we are not the epilogue."

Yes indeed folks, yes indeed!

Contact:

Rhythm Activism
POB 891, Station Desjardins
Montréal, Québec
H5B 1B9 Canada

Feb. 10 Letter Continued

(Continued from page 21)

cause. You can capture and torture us if you wish. And you can use part of the 40 billion dollars to make the prisons bigger. Because with what you have right now there is no space for a quarter of the Mexicans and the Zapatistas in Chiapas. Because to finish Zapatismo you will have to kill thousands of children and civilians, Indigenous and mestizo.

We want to know if this is your last word for now, Mr. Zedillo. We have the order to retreat, to avoid a confrontation with your army. But if that is the case, we are ready. Because, we, the Indigenous people, don't have anything to lose, and we are conscious and ready to die if necessary. We are not afraid of death. Because we have been always the dead ones alive. We don't have anything but misery, exploitation, and lack of freedom and justice and democracy in our country. We tell the truth, which is what you powerful ones want to hide from the people of México. We have the hope that some day, our people will live with dignity and justice, with peace but with dignity and justice.

We remind you, Mr. Zedillo, that the Zapatistas are willing to dialogue and to find a political solution to our problems. And we placed more conditions for the cease-fire so as to allow dialogue later. But you have responded by ordering more soldiers, more planes, more helicopters, tanks, and militarizing the state of Chiapas more. Then, how do you want us to respond? You want us to bow our heads again? You want us to kneel before you as you are accustomed? No Mr. Zedillo. I believe that you know well that the Indigenous people have more than 500 years of marginalization and exploitation from the powerful like you. But don't waste yourself on threats, because that way you will not achieve anything with us.

We repeat our disposition to dialogue and come up with a political solution to this problem. But under the condition that you lower the tension that you have against Subcommander Marcos, and under the conditions that you already know. Because otherwise, you will not achieve anything but to dirty your hands with Mexican blood.

Fraternally, Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee, General Command of the EZLN, Chiapas, México, 1995★

When the government had everything ready, it broke the dialogue and launched a military offensive in the Lacandona Jungle.

The government does not want a solution to the conflict. What it wants is to annihilate us. It tried to buy us, and it couldn't. Now it wants to destroy us, and it is failing again.

Third—Despite seeing itself betrayed and injured in this way, the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee, General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army, has ordered its troops to retreat to their positions in the mountains and to avoid armed conflict with the punitive expedition of the supreme government as much as possible. In this manner the Zapatista National Liberation Army ratified its will to dialogue, and directed itself to the civil society, both national and international, so that they could evaluate this real and truthful demonstration of the political will of the Zapatistas.

Fourth—Today by means of a radio transmission we have learned of the calls made by the legislative commission, made up of various members of political parties with the goal of making proposals for the renewal of negotiations.

The Zapatista National Liberation Army responds: The physical conditions for dialogue are not present. The Zapatista communities, along with the troops of the Zapatista National Liberation Army, have found refuge in the mountains. Whatever effort at communication and consensus, with regard to the dialogue, among the Zapatista bases, is impossible to carry out in the face of the government's aggression.

An indispensable requirement for beginning the dialogue again is the withdrawal of the Federal Army from the Lacandona Jungle; that they return to the positions they had on Feb. 8, 1995.

Fifth—The Zapatista National Liberation Army is not playing with two faces. Its will to dialogue is, and has always been, genuine, and there is a great deal of proof of this political disposition.

Today we confirm to the people of México that which has been stated since the 21st of February 1994 in the calls for dialogue for peace and reconciliation in Chiapas, which were carried out in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas.

We are willing to continue to seek a peaceful solution if it is with dignity and genuine.

Sixth—Today, despite our declaration, repeated many times, of our disposition to dialogue, the Federal Army continues cornering us. They are driving us into a dead-end alley of choosing to die or fight. We will fight if we are forced to. We will start a guerrilla war if we are not left any other option. We will talk if the dialogue that is offered us is with dignity and truthfulness.

Brothers and sisters, we only expect lies of humiliation and death from the supreme government.

From the national and international civil society we expect the opportunity to speak and to have a life with dignity. To live or die with dignity is again the only alternative for the Zapatistas.

The people of México and the international community have the floor; we are listening.

Democracy!

Freedom!

Justice!

From the mountains of Southeastern México

For the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee, General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army

Subcommander Marcos

México, February 1995

M. Ana María, C. David, C. Javier★



Major Ana María has recently been acting as EZLN spokesperson.

Feb. 17 Communiqué

Brothers and sisters, Subcommander Marcos is speaking to you.

By my voice also is speaking the voice of the Zapatista National Liberation Army.

Communiqué from the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee, General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army

México, February 17, 1995

To the people of México:

To the people and governments of the world:

To the national and international press: Brothers and sisters, the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee, General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army declares the following:

First—The Federal Army continues to advance into the Lacandona Jungle. In its path the Federal Army is encountering many deserted villages, as the civilians prefer to flee to mountains rather than become victims of the arbitrary behavior of the soldiers.

In the communities, the Federal Army has been dedicated to destruction, robbing, plundering and pillaging. The civilians who have the unfortunate luck to fall into their hands are victims of torture and interrogations. In addition they are detained illegally, disappeared and some are assassinated.

Second—To the demonstrations of the disposition of the Zapatista National Liberation Army to seek a political solution to the conflict, the federal government

responded with two-facedness. While it spoke of peace and dialogue, it prepared a brutal military attack.

Feb. 11 Communiqué

TRANSLATED BY CINDY ARNOLD, NCDM

February 11, 1995

To the people of México

To the national and international press

To the peoples of the world

The Indigenous Clandestine Revolutionary Committee, General Command of the EZLN

We have made a call to all of our brothers and sisters of México to stop this genocidal war that the bad government is waging against us.

The federal government is acting with lies, it is carrying out a dirty war in our villages. Yesterday around noon, 14 helicopters bombed the area around Morelia and Garrucha, as well as shot artillery fire in the area under Zapatista control; thousands of federal soldiers have penetrated into the interior of the jungle, via Monte Libano, Agua Azul, Santa Lucía, La Garrucha Champes, San Agustín, Guadalupe Tepeyac and others. They are surrounding us with death and ugliness. We, the Zapatistas, as troops and civilians, up to this point, have done everything possible to fall back, but now we do not have any other option except to defend ourselves and to defend our villages; thousands of civilians have left their homes.

Brothers and sisters, the government of Ernesto Zedillo is killing us, it is killing children, it is attacking women and raping them.

We ask the people of México and all the people of the world to do something to stop this war.

Again we ask you, brothers and sisters, don't leave us alone.

We will act with dignity.

Freedom, Justice, and Democracy

Fraternally,

The Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee, General Command of the EZLN★



Zapatistas celebrating the new year in Guadalupe Tepeyac, Chiapas.

The Massacre at Jacinto Vera: State Terrorism in Uruguay

TRANSLATED BY TODD PRANE WITH ELIZABETH BRIGHT

On Aug. 24, at 8 p.m., one of the most unprecedented and brutal repressions was unleashed on 4,000 demonstrators in the Montevideo neighborhood of Jacinto Vera. The demonstrators were gathered in front of the Filtro Hospital to support Basque prisoners on a food and water strike, and to demand political asylum for them. Women with children in their arms, the elderly, reporters, doctors and nurses attending to the wounded were beaten and shot. More than 500 police troops participated in the repressive operation, shooting to kill, and tens of demonstrators were shot. One of them died and three more were seriously injured.

On May 15, 1992, 13 Basques who were supposedly members of the Basque organization ETA were detained in "La Trainera" restaurant in Montevideo. They were booked on possession of false documents. Speculation began regarding possible connections between the ETA members and former Tupamaro guerrillas, as well as speculation regarding the eventual extradition or political asylum that might be granted the arrested.

On Mar. 19, 1993 a solidarity demonstration in favor of freeing the Basques, and against their extradition to Spain was carried out. Spain solicited the extradition of eight of the Basques, and the remaining five were set free. Extradition was denied for five of the Basques, but granted for three: Luis María Lizarralde, Jesús María Goitia and Miguel Ibañez Oteiza.

On Aug. 10, the three Basques detained in the Central Jail declared a hunger strike, and the Uruguayan Committee for Asylum for Basques began meetings with parliamentarians of all political parties to try to secure their freedom. In addition, they began to denounce the acts of the Uruguayan government as related to the possible granting of loans by Spain.

While some legislators publicly argued that people could not be detained for crimes such as these, which did not merit imprisonment, the prosecuting attorney demanded bail of \$50,000 for each of the Basques.

In a document made public, the Basques sought that the executive power maintain neutrality, and that it grant them political asylum, and that they be freed. In the same document, they denounced the increase in loans by Spain to Uruguay, and gave as proof of their criticism a loan of eight billion pesetas [almost \$60 million] in exchange for modifications in the Asylum Law.

On the other hand, Uruguay adheres to international conventions that would have permitted them to not hand over prisoners who might be submitted to judgment in a foreign state where prisoners are tortured. The last report by Amnesty International established that Spain tortures prisoners and violates their human rights.

In spite of arguments such as these by the defense attorney, the executive power did not change its position.



"If there aren't any more humans, there won't be any more human rights violations."

The three Basques, because of their health, were transferred to the Filtro Hospital, where hundreds of people permanently protested in solidarity with the hunger strikers, supporting their fight for political asylum.

While politicians of various sectors revived in political declarations the Uruguayan tradition of political asylum (at the beginning of the century, anarchists who were persecuted in Argentina took refuge in Uruguay), the PIT-CNT, the Broad Front (Frente Amplio) and militants of all parts of the left called demonstrations at the doors of the hospital. These demonstrations were accompanied by shut-downs in several sectors and a general shut-down on Aug. 23.

Since Aug. 20, the Basque prisoners refused to drink water, having learned of the willingness of the judiciary to proceed with the extradition.

On Aug. 24 at 6 p.m., and in the presence of hundreds of people, several demonstrators were beaten in order to increase the police siege in the area; everyone knew of the arrival of the Spanish plane, and that in less than 24 hours the extradition would go forward.

At approximately 8 p.m., when almost 5,000 people had concentrated in the area, street lights were shut off, telephone service to the area was interrupted and the most brutal and savage operation in memory began. Paratroopers and street cops fired on the crowd. Mounted cops pursued those who tried to escape. A total of over 500 soldiers, with a zeal worthy of nazi fascism, set themselves against children, women, and elderly people alike.

The result was tragic: one death, Fernando Morroni, age 24, a poor worker

and student; three serious injuries, which at the time of this writing were still in danger of death (one was a nurse who was caring for a wounded person on the street when soldiers shot him four times in the back); 75 wounded of various degrees; many arrested and three disappeared.

The Lacalle government demonstrated with this action that they adhere to the new international order. Not only do they send military missions under the United Nations' flag, but they also deport and expel all of those who are suspected of terrorism to their country of origin, leaving aside the traditions of political asylum of the country. Nevertheless, military dictators from Argentina can still seek asylum here.

Spain, who pretends to be the privileged liaison between the European Economic Community and Latin America, has pressured the Uruguayan government with no respite to extradite the Basque prisoners. That is to say, after 500 years, they continue to try to perpetuate the colonization of the third world by the first by means of economic, technical, and technological "cooperation" with Latin American countries. This, without a doubt, places the European Common Market in a position of greater influence.

The mobilization against the extradition was born at the margins of the official leftist structures (the Broad Front—Frente Amplio), and of the union structures (PIT-CNT). One of the reasons is that the theme of human rights is difficult to negotiate with parties in power, since the memory of the tortures and hundreds of disappearances during the dictatorship for which there was never any justice is still

fresh. Another reason is that human rights and public freedoms are themes that important sectors of Montevideo are very sensitive to. Finally, there is also the memory for many of the foreign solidarity received during the struggle against the Uruguayan dictatorship.

That movement, nevertheless, grew day by day, in numbers of people, until finally the Frente Amplio and the PIT-CNT were obligated to show their support, and their representative board authorized a general strike in support of the mobilization.

The government accused the demonstrators of being a violent mob of terrorists, and accused the Frente Amplio and the PIT-CNT of giving haven in their ranks to extremists. On the other hand they prepared to criminalize these emerging movements of economically marginalized people, as a consequence of neoliberal politics and Mercosur, and of all of those who do not move through the hallways of "parliamentary democracy," as well as those leftist sectors that questioned the moderate politics of the Frente Amplio.

The result of the massacre at Jacinto Vera, where the people were criminally stopped from expressing their opinion at the margins of the established institutions and powers, with three Basques extradited and one expelled, with the closing of Pan-American radio CX44 (a station tied to the Tupamaros) accused of being responsible for agitation at the Filtro Hospital, it is evident that now many Uruguayans feel less free, and that on the other hand the government will continue down this path.★

Source: @-Infos de Uruguay

Chechnya

(Continued from page 5)

It may seem that Russia's "nationality problem" is not a result of capitalism, but of a "Kremlin mentality," a particularly barbaric survival of pre-capitalist tsarist conquests. Without going into all the reasons for consid-



Russian imperialism takes aim.

ering Russian communism a form of state capitalism, it can be said that other capitalist systems have been built on pre-capitalist, or only partly capitalist, forms of oppression. Black oppression in the United States is an example. As in Russia, these appear to be special, inherited problems, when they are really built into the system. And like the US, Russia and other ex-communist states, with a couple of possible exceptions, are failing to solve their "minority" problems through reforms.

Second lesson: The struggles for self-determination around the ex-communist world are limited, but important struggles that help the general struggle for democracy. On the surface, it may look as if "nationalism" is a destructive force that contributes to the emergence of authoritarian rule. Actually, in the six years since the old USSR began to crack up in 1989, the struggle of the oppressed nationalities has pushed Russia toward democracy not once but many times. The struggles of the Baltic countries to secede, in 1989-91, contributed to the weakening of Gorbachev's rule, led Gorbachev to turn toward the generals, and therefore helped bring about the coup attempt whose defeat greatly, if momentarily, expanded Russian democracy.

Isn't it plain that if Lithuania and the others had not struggled for independence, it would have been harder to destroy communist rule, if possible at all? And the secession of the other non-Russian states from the USSR in 1991 at least means that Russia is now sliding toward dictatorship in a smaller, weaker state. Finally, opposition to the Chechen invasion itself has weakened the Russian army, increased the demoralization of troops and officers, and led to open protests in Moscow. The Russian gov-

ernment would be moving to the right without any of this; what the national movements have created is resistance to this move.

Nevertheless, if the authority of the state continues to fray and crack without a full-scale popular struggle for freedom, the generals and police will grow bold enough to counterattack. The next months or a year can be crucial for the survival of any degree of freedom in Russia, and after that, the other ex-communist states.

Right now it seems as if people in Russia and other ex-communist countries are too economically exhausted and too demoralized by the failure of reform to start mass struggles. If this is the case, semi-democratic capitalism will give way to authoritarianism and, internationally, Russian imperialism will re-emerge as a rival to US imperialism.

The last word lies with the people, however, and they haven't spoken it. It's possible that new struggles for liberty will emerge. It should be clear, too, that battles are possible in the future to defend the relatively limited democratic rights these countries have gained since 1985. In that case anarchists and anti-authoritarians, even though we stand for the destruction of all oppression and oppose all states, would side with people trying to defend limited forms of democracy against destruction.★

[Two Gorbachev-era books that are still useful for background are: Alexandre Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslims of the Soviet Empire, a Guide* (Indiana University Press, 1986); Bohdan Nahaylo and Victor Swoboda, *Soviet Disunion, A History of the Nationalities Problem in the USSR* (Free Press, 1990). The second deals with all non-Russian nationalities, not just Muslims.]

Anti-Fascism on Trial in Germany

(Continued from page 7)

that have become traditional in Göttingen every Oct. 3; Germany's Reunification Day. The exhibition was entitled "Forbidden Art," and a special 60-page brochure documenting the illegal KuK posters from 1985-1994 was published for the event. A text accompanying the exhibition is now part of a 129a investigation (propaganda for a terrorist organization).

SUBPOENAS AND INVESTIGATIONS

Two people accused of membership in Autonome Antifa (M) and three people from the infoshop 'Buchladen Rote Strasse' have been issued subpoenas by the LKA in conjunction with the KuK investigation. LKA agents have also been showing up at a local graphics design studio. Already, the "lines of argumentation" used by the LKA and the GSA sound very similar to those used by the nazis when they started banning art. All art, on account of its style and content, is to be banned that does not conform with the state's ideals. Anyone who thinks that's bullshit is advised to take a look at the images documented in KuK's "Forbidden Art" brochure.

The right-wing police and justice department operations have been supported by Lower Saxony's justice minister, Heidi Alm-Merk, and Lower Saxony's interior minister, Gerhard Glogowski, both of whom are members of the social democratic party SPD.

Paragraph 129a is an old weapon to be deployed in politically motivated repression in Germany. In this case, it's a means of

criminalizing and destroying the anti-fascist movement. But we will not be silenced by the state's actions. The KuK exhibition will, as planned, becoming a traveling exhibition in Germany and in neighboring countries, and the accompanying brochure can still be ordered.

A long and expensive trial is expected, which could result in long sentences for the accused. The struggle will be carried out juridically and politically. The accused expect to be portrayed as organized criminals in the media, and for the state to attempt to discredit their politics and scare off their coalition partners. International media coverage and press, like what the firebombings in Moelln and Solingen inspired, has been important in building political pressure in Germany. While the trials against leftists in the '70s and '80s were regularly carried out with partially illegal methods, international trial watchers have helped to keep pressure on the courts to proceed legally in trials in the last few years. To win this case and to defend their politics against criminalization, strong international solidarity is needed. Press coverage and international trial watchers are needed immediately. The trials should begin sometime in the summer of 1995 and last for several months. The trial watchers should come for at least two days and are welcome for longer.

Contact:

Autonome Antifa (M) and KuK
c/o Buchladen Rote Strasse
Rote Strasse 10
37073 Göttingen
Germany

The brochure "Forbidden Art" can be ordered for 10 DM from the above address.★

McDonalds and the Mexico City Anarchists

(Continued from page 22)

tion to the judicial authorities, and to top it off, the clarifying letter in the same issue.

Now, with this letter in the name of the JAR, signed by two young PRD members who explain that they did not carry out the "destruction" and they demonstrate that they are not alone, that they are members of the CND, and that moreover they count on the support of the third most important party in the country. I continue to try to reach the "unidentified individuals" who set loose their rage against the imperialist transnational corporation with the solidarity within our limited resources.

Greetings!

OPINION OF ANARCHIST YOUTH ON THE INCIDENT AT MCDONALDS

To the Editor:

We kindly ask that this letter be published in the *Correo Ilustrado* [Letters to the Editor in *La Jornada*] Section.

The groups signed below would like to publish our view with respect to events which occurred last Tuesday [Nov.] 8th, in the McDonalds building in the Zona Rosa, located on Génova St.

Through different means of communication, it has come out that those responsible for the incident call themselves anarchists, in the same way that we call ourselves anarchists. Nevertheless, we believe it to be appropriate to publicly clarify that the methods used by these people do not corre-

spond with ours. We consider that the well-being of people will only be achieved through respect and mutual understanding.

In this way, questions of ethics, morals, education and culture are of great value to us.

And it is precisely around these questions that our duty is carried out. For example, by means of conferences concerning the question of women, of ecology, of health, among others in various places like the University Museum of the Chopo and other education and panels, language classes, participation in radio programs (Estéreo Joven [Youth Stereo] and Radio Educación [Educación Radio]), publishing newspapers and magazines, expositions, musical events, etc.

"...The hatred of repression, the desire to be free, and the power to express one's own personality in all of its enormity, it is not enough to make someone an anarchist. The aspiration to unlimited freedom, if not accompanied by love of people and by the desire that every one else enjoy the same freedom, can make rebels, but it is not enough to make anarchists: rebels who, if they have enough strength, will become the exploiters and tyrants right away..."

—Errico Malatesta

Sincerely,

A.N.I.M.A.L., Brigada Subversiva, Colectivo Cambio Radical Fuerza Positiva and Colectivo Edología Expresión Acción. Ricardo A. Pino Hidalgo, Miguel A. Chávez López, José Luis González Ruiz. *La Jornada*, Sunday 13 Nov., 1994★

Feminist Revolution

(Continued from page 3)

and directly democratic, moving us toward directly challenging the existing order's monopoly on power.

TOWARD THE FREE SOCIETY

Jan. 22, 1995 marked the 22nd anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*. Instead of being a celebration, it was a day of mourning. Instead of being an affirmation to women everywhere, it was mostly filled with muted anger and suppressed rage. In demonstrations across the US the urgency to break through the liberal facade was palpable on the faces of fierce women taking the streets in the bitter cold. What we

need to do now is repeat again and again, "we won't go back," taking our demands beyond this rotting American dream. We need a movement willing not only to defend the clinics but to build an insurgent base for a revolutionary counter-society. Only then will we be able to defend our bodies and bring their hate machine to the ground. The women who have given up their lives demand that we push beyond Roe. As women took the streets in NY on the 22nd, police politely asked us to stay on the sidewalk; we refused. Our freedom is not up for negotiation, our bodies are not up for a vote. Our lives depend on our refusal and our willingness to put our bodies beyond their death culture and grasp the free society.★

Rebellion from the Roots

(Continued from page 23)

history of dispossession that has produced these attitudes.

All in all, Ross has narrated a lively account of the uprising and pulled together enough historical material to help the non-specialist place the Zapatistas within the background of exploitation and resistance out of which they arose. Those who have followed press reports and cyberspace discussions closely since the beginning of the rebellion will find little new here—a few nuggets here and there—but for those who

have only recently become curious about what all the fuss is about, *Rebellion from the Roots* will provide an entertaining and insightful introduction to an exciting but complex series of events and ideas whose influence is still spreading.

Austin, Texas
January 1995★

The most complete collection in English of Zapatista communiques and interviews that has been published to date is: *¡Zapatistas! Documents of the New Mexican Revolution*, Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 1994. [Available from Love and Rage for \$12]



Taking aim on imperialism.



Mutiny Aboard the Amistad (1839), by Hale Woodruff

LETTERS

PROBLEM WITH ANARCHISTS

Dear Love and Rage:

The following is a letter addressing a problem that I have with parts of the anarchist movement. In a sense, I am trying to sort out some thoughts of my own by engaging in dialogue with you, because I respect your work and have read the paper sporadically for a few years.

The problem is this: The basic opposition of anarchists to Marxists and vice-versa. I am coming from years of activity within the Israeli Communist Party, most of that time without actually buying the whole program. In other words, I have remained on the CP path for what I consider to be pragmatic, logical reasons, and not because I am ready or able to defend every aspect of Stalinist history. I used to think that this made me a minority within the communist or revolutionary socialist tradition, but that may not be true anymore.

I find that I am more comfortable with organizations that have recognized leaders and hierarchies, because the kind of leaders that don't have official recognition can't be officially replaced either. I like to have a say by voting, without always having to agree with the majority, or forcing the minority to agree with me. As long as the group agrees to work together while tolerating disagreements, it is good, honest political practice. I also find that most anarchist groups have as many rules, explicit and implicit as the various left grouplets in this country. The uniforms may be different, but the lack of openness and tolerance feels the same. The Marxist left does seem to be more successful at retaining members past the time when they have children. Why do you think that is?

In a perfect world the boundaries between red and black would be permeable, with groups across the spectrum recognizing the possibility of change over time, and understanding that dogmatism and holier-than-thou attitudes tend to defeat the purpose. As a revolutionary, I am trying to change the world so that it suits me better. By convincing anarchists that ideological pedigrees are less important than practice, and labels least important of all, maybe I'll be able to find a home for myself, politically. I hope you have figured out that if I am approaching the Love and Rage Network, it is because I think you will be more receptive to such as myself than the left groups I am familiar with.

A few years ago, the former General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, Meir Vilner, called for my expulsion from the CPI because, according to him, I was an anarchist. In fact, I had merely called for using the tactics of direct action while speaking at a congress of the Young Communist

League. He did not succeed, thankfully. It amuses me to joke about the day when an anarchist group I belong to decides to expel me because I have suggested something akin to democratic centralism, a sure sign of Stalinism. As a whole, I suspect that anarchists would be far less tolerant of me than my CP is back in Israel. In the words of Rodney King, can't we all get along?

Respectfully yours,
Joe Cohen

RACE TREASON GENDER TROUBLE

Dear Love and Rage,

Noel Ignatiev's attempt to defend his claim that white women can expect "that the state will protect them from strangers" demands a response. Noel replies to the evidence of the experience of "white" women on the Love and Rage Production Group to the contrary by asserting that by their apparent refusal "to be the property of any man" they have placed themselves beyond the shield of whiteness.

The main problem with Noel's argument is really a simple matter of fact: women who in no way place themselves "beyond the shield of whiteness" cannot expect that the state will protect them from strangers unless by "strangers" Noel means Black men. In that case Noel is correct in noting that such protection is extended not out of concern for women but in order to protect the property of white men, but then it is white men and not white women who have an expectation of protection.

White women (like all women) can expect to be treated like the collective property of men (including strangers) without any expectation of protection by the state. Women are routinely menaced and harassed by strange men on the streets with impunity. And in a thousand ways (in conversations, in the mass media, in all manner of social customs) men assert their control over women. In the ultimate expression of male power, rape, women usually have no effective recourse through the state. In those instances in which the state does act a white woman who has been raped can expect that in the defense of the property rights of white men she will be put through a legal process that often reproduces much of the humiliation and degradation of the initial act of rape.

I think that it is the way that Noel conflates the defense of white women as the property of white men with a benefit to white women (the expectation of protection) that is so infuriating. Noel is right to say that patriarchy is decisively shaped by white supremacy, but he needs to also see how white supremacy is shaped by patriarchy. The power of contemporary white

supremacy has its roots in the historical ownership of human beings by other human beings. The power of patriarchy is rooted in the continuing ownership of human beings by other human beings.

Clearly the state treats white women and black women differently and in many instances those differences constitute privileges for white women. But sexual violence as a central part of the apparatus of social control is not just about upholding whiteness. It is first and foremost about upholding the subordinate social position of women.

Noel claims that "statistics show that the safest thing to be in this country is a white woman." The crucial term here is "thing." White women are safe only if we exclude the vast majority of violence that is done to them by men who claim ownership over them (fathers, brothers, husbands, boyfriends, bosses...). That violence of course is highly underrepresented in any statistics precisely because women know that they can't expect to be protected by the state. These statistics also exclude the millions of times women capitulate to men (to have sex, to do the dishes, to do what he wants) who have not even threatened violence because those women know that it lurks just beneath the surface of the situation.

Noel argues that by refusing male control rebellious women (like the women on the Production Group) are locating themselves outside of whiteness. By attempting to define acts of resistance to the patriarchy through the solitary lens of race treason Noel is effectively erasing the feminist content of those acts. The emerging theory and practice of race treason will be better served by a respectful analysis of the full range of resistance to the full range of forms of domination than by trying to drag every expression of revolt or refusal under the umbrella of treason to whiteness.

Love and Kisses,
Christopher Day

ANARCHIST LIFE TERM PRISONER NEEDS YOUR HELP!

Marilyn Pippin, my significant other half and trustworthy friend, recently decided to attempt to hire an attorney to litigate my wrongful convictions. I've suggested to her I might request my fellow anarchists to issue data updates concerning me, these cases, my life plus sentences, maybe distribute flyers/leaflets, requesting donations toward the necessary amount of funds required to hire a competent lawyer to fight to free me. I am requesting such help now. It is a clear fact, there is only so much a prisoner can do within prison confines with legal work product it takes days, weeks, or months to accomplish what a professional attorney can achieve within a mere matter

of minutes or hours due to his/her accessibility to the judicial system, legal research materials readily at hand, plus a legal staff to run errands for them. I have been imprisoned since 1979, 16 years in prison in ill health due to a past medical history of a brain aneurysm operation, 52 years old, which is a load heavy enough to break the back of most persons. I do know it is impacting on me adversely now, particularly as pertains to my general health situation as an epileptic and my ever-worsening nerves from the chaos of prison life.

Please consider extending to me your helping hand of solidarity with a request for donations where you reside? If you do not have the time for such a project I understand. Maybe you could get out the word to various anarchist/revolutionary organizations, collectives, etc., in my behalf? Rather than having support letters or donations sent to Brooklyn ABC care of Dan Sabater, it would save time and an unnecessary duplication of mailing to have support letters sent to me directly at my prison address below with any donations of funds for my legal defense sent directly to the following address:

Harold H. Thompson Legal Defense Fund
PO Box 2213
Cleveland, TN 37320-2213

Support letters mailed to me:
Harold H. Thompson #93992
WTHSF Unit 6-D-110
Route 2, Box 1050
Henning, TN 38041-1050

Ms. Pippin has decided to list my name on her postal box for receipt of defense funds.

She has further indicated her willingness to maintain proper case of my legal defense funds and to perform all necessary tasks associated with locating/hiring a competent performing attorney to work to free me from my chains, free me from these unjust convictions that rightfully should never have taken place in the first place as they are based on sensationalist publicity-seeking by prosecutors for political reasons, not justice. 16 years inside prison is more than mere punishment.

Even though I actively aid other prisoners with their legal problems, my own cases are far different as the vindictive prosecution team was careful to follow procedures to try to ensure that I would die of old age in prison, condemned to prison designed to destroy me mentally or wreck my health completely, or with hope during my prison terms I would be murdered because of my open anarchist politics, my chosen politics clearly abrasive to prisonocratic authority over working class prisoners.

Harold H. Thompson
1-18-95